

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	b6
Mr. Holloman	b7C
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/92 BY 2020N25
9/5/82 ELLAN

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

FBI NEW ORLEANS (44-0) 12/2/54
DIRECTOR, FBI (ENCL.)

AIR TEL
AIR MAIL

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL, INFORMATION CONCERNING (CIVIL RIGHTS) RE
MOBILE AIRTEL TO BUREAU 11/30/54, COPY NEW ORLEANS. THERE IS EN-
CLOSED FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU A COPY OF AN EDITORIAL OF
THE LOUISIANA WEEKLY, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA NEWSPAPER, 11/27/54 EDI-
TION, PAGE SIX B, COLUMN ONE, ENTITLED "NEGROES TIRED OF 'PRESSURE' "
SAME REPORTS THAT THE WHITE MEN'S CITIZENS COUNCIL ("BETTER KNOWN
TO SOME AS THE 'UPTOWN KU KLUX KLAN')" PLAN TO PUT "PRESSURE" ON
NEGROES IN THE STATE FOR WANTING TO OBEY THE LAW AS THE SUPREME COURT
HAD DECIDED IT. THE ARTICLE REFLECTED THAT THE COUNCIL HAD BEEN
WARNED LAST WEEK BY NEGROES THAT THEY WOULD COUNTER ATTACK ANY THREAT
TO THE ECONOMIC WELFARE OF NEGROES. THERE IS A PLAN IN EFFECT TO
"CLOSE RANKS" AND BOYCOTT THE PRODUCTS AND SERVICES SOLD BY CERTAIN
COMPANIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF MISSISSIPPI; THAT NEGROES ALL OVER
THE COUNTRY ARE WAITING TO FIND OUT WHAT PRODUCTS COME FROM MISS.

TO EXERT THE SAME PRESSURE MISSISSIPPI NEGROES ARE THREATENED WITH.
THIS SAME NEWSPAPER, 11/27/54 EDITION, PAGE TWO, COLUMN FOUR, UNDER
HEADING, "MISS. NEGROES WARN THEY WILL COUNTERATTACK IF STATE CITIZENS
COUNCILS START ECONOMIC WAR" REPORTED AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, THAT

cc: 110
12/2/54
12/2/54

RFC:gp

Mr. Rosen

RECORDED 12

105-34237-X
105-22955-2

cc: 1 - Mobile (Info.) (44-INDEXED-42
REGISTERED MAIL

DEC 3 1954

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479 APR 27 1972

Special Agent in Charge

EX - 107 Sent M Per

PAGE TWO

NEGROES WARNED LAST WEEK THAT IF AN ECONOMIC WAR IS BEGUN BY THE STATE CITIZENS COUNCILS, THE NEGROES WOULD COUNTERATTACK. THIS DECLARATION WAS MADE BY THE MISSISSIPPI BRANCH OF THE NAACP AT THE CLOSE OF A THREE-DAY MEETING HELD IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. THE ARTICLE DESCRIBED CITIZENS COUNCILS AS GROUPS OF WHITE MEN ORGANIZED TO KEEP SEGREGATION. THE ARTICLE REPORTED SUCH GROUPS HAVE THREATENED TO USE ECONOMIC PRESSURE IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST MIXED SCHOOLS. THE ARTICLE STATED NAMES OF COMPANIES AND OFFICIALS WHO THREATEN NEGROES WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE NAACP'S NATIONAL OFFICE IN A TWO PART PROGRAM. ONE, TO INVESTIGATE TO SEE IF FEDERAL LAWS HAVE BEEN VIOLATED, AND TWO, THE NAMES WOULD BE CIRCULATED TO BRANCH NAACP OFFICES FOR A RIGID BOYCOTT OF THE PRODUCTS OR SERVICES SOLD BY THOSE COMPANIES INSIDE OR OUTSIDE OF MISSISSIPPI. NO INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY NEW ORLEANS UACB. COPY FURNISHED MOBILE FOR INFORMATION IN VIEW OF INFORMATION FURNISHED NEW ORLEANS BY REAIRTEL.

CHILES

END

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

December 9, 1954

Director, FBI
105-34337-X

RECORDED-42

EX-107

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CIVIL RIGHTS)

Reference is made to my memorandum dated December 3, 1954.

There is attached hereto for your information a Photostat of an article which appeared in "The Louisiana Weekly," New Orleans, Louisiana, dated November 27, 1954.

[Handwritten signature]
Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/01 BY 60267N/SEP/LSK
919421

- cc: 1 - Mobile
- 1 - New Orleans
- 1 - (detached) *[Handwritten initials]*
- Room 1704

WMA:lat *[Handwritten initials]*
(7)

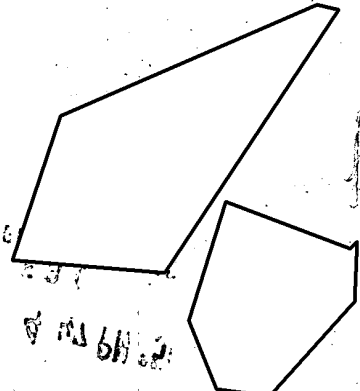
- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

MAR 1 - 1956

RS

MAILED 11
DEC - 9 1954
COMM - FBI

SECURITY INFORMATION OFFICE



[Handwritten initials]

Negroes Tired Of 'Pressure'

THE White Mississippi Citizens Council (better known to some as the "Up-town Ku Klux Klan") plan, to put "pressure" on Negroes in that state for wanting to obey the law as the Supreme Court sees it, looks like it might blow up in their faces.

In this day of possible atomic warfare, the cold war between the two dominant political ideologies, democracy and communism, the new Negro has the good common sense to know that democracy must work the same way for all American citizens if it is to survive. There can be no legal segregation. They are anxious for its survival and know it will survive where it is put into practice. The U. S. Army is living proof that integration works.

They have the faith in democracy is the reason why they are not afraid as they might have been years ago of the Miss. Council's subtle threats of economic pressure and violence.

Possibly that is the reason why they warned the councils last week they'd counter attack, but good, any threat to the economic welfare of Negroes. The putting of democracy into practice is on the march. There is no turning back.

Already there is a plan in effect to "close ranks" and boycott the products and services sold by certain companies inside and outside of Mississippi. Negroes all over the country as well as sympathizers are just waiting to find out what products, services, et cetera that come from Mississippi to exert the same pressure Miss. Negroes are threatened with. The creation of nationwide anti-Mississippi sentiment

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DATE 3/29/01 BY 60321 MMS
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RIAL
MISSISSIPPIAN WEEKLY
MOBILE, LA.
54
3, col., 1
Dejoie, jr. Editor

ENCLOSURE
105-34237-X

3 Photostats made
1 to [redacted] 1/10/68
1 to Dept
1 to [redacted]
Richard 4/60

will do the already backward and mentally sick state no good. (Any way you look at Mississippi, it is a poor state culturally, educationally and economically. The state needs all the help it can get morally, spiritually and economically because it is so far down the list in everything except violence and ignorance. The poor state has no claims to fame or accomplishment because of its consuming efforts to keep the "Negro in his place." To do that, the poor state has not been able to raise itself. They are still in the same place, at the bottom of the rung of the ladder of democracy, brotherhood, and accomplishment.

Common sense ought to tell the Miss. Citizens Councils they can ill afford to intimidate and pressure loyal Negro Americans who respect and obey the law they want to defy.

Certainly it will be a sad day for Mississippi if the word is given nationwide to boycott everything sold or made in Mississippi.

Negroes are tired of being the subjects of pressure. They are tired of people speaking for segregation when the Supreme Court of the U. S. has spoken 9-0 against it. Perhaps, that is the answer to why a large number of citizens cancelled their subscriptions to two local dailies which campaigned for the infamous amendment 16 that was designed to circumvent and defy the Supreme Court ruling.

We mean to fight to see that democracy works like the civic and history books say it should, and that ought to be quite apparent even in Mississippi.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: December 10 1954

WJG

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

WFT: *WFT: aik*
146-17210-10
146-17210-11

SUBJECT: The Citizens Councils (of Mississippi)
The American States Rights Association

Bartholomew
WFT

There is forwarded herewith an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald on Sunday, November 21, 1954, regarding the above-named organizations.

It is suggested that an investigation be made regarding these organizations with a view to their being considered for designation pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450 relating to the Federal employee security program. Particular emphasis should be placed on any policies or activities which indicate that the organizations have "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States".

Enclosure No. 34601

*cc - sub. att.
Bureau files,
+ Mr. Tolson's
with sub. 12-17-54
RET/...*

FBI
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/01 BY 60267NCE/LSJ
4918421

EX-120
DEC 15 1954
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105-34237-

RECORDED - 48

DEC 20 1954

INDEXED - 43

WFT
5-RET

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479 MAY 10 1972

EX-120

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Vigilantes Reviving 'Southern Heritage'

The South is witnessing the birth of a new crop of anti-Negro groups unlike anything since the post-World War II revival of the Ku Klux Klan. To get the facts, an AP Newsfeatures reporter spent two weeks in the region, talking with state officials and officers of organizations both for and against racial integration.

By Ben-Price

AP Newsfeatures

JACKSON, Miss. — A new type of anti-Negro vigilante movement—using boycotts instead of bullwhips—has arisen in at least one state in the South.

And in the wake of last spring's Supreme Court decision declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional, new organizations have appeared elsewhere in Dixie to sound the call for "preservation of our Southern heritage," the old rallying cry of the Ku Klux Klan. At present, these various groups operate independently of one another. Most are weak, drawing crowds of only several hundred even when appealing to mass protest meetings.

The two with muscle are the American States Rights Association, headquartered in Birmingham, Ala., and a network of Citizens Councils in Mississippi. The Citizens Councils have advocated, and apparently put in use, the idea of substituting economic pressure for physical force, the traditional weapon of the Klan.

Citizens Councils have been organized in 22 of Mississippi's 32 counties and are spreading. Their purpose is to apply economic pressures to "trouble-makers" who would upset the "Southern way of life." A "trouble-maker" is anyone who advocates compliance with the Supreme Court decision against racial segregation.

THE COUNCILS are directed against "outside agitators" in general and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in particular. The only organized opposition to the movement, and hence its chief target, is the handful of NAACP members inside Mississippi. Dr. Emmett J. Stringer, a Columbus dentist, is state president for the NAACP.

Stringer says he believes there has been some action on the part of the Councils.

"We had a branch president, a merchant, who had to give up. A group of white men drove up to his store and told him to get in the car. He did and they took him to his bank. There were the banker, his wholesaler, and other people who gave him credit. They told him they would give him no more. . . . He had to give up, go bankrupt or get out."

The dentist also told of a Negro doctor whose patients were advised not to go to him anymore. The doctor was active in the NAACP.

Stringer, a graduate of Meharry Medical College at Nashville, Tenn., said he had reports from one area that the public utility services of any Negro leader who became even one day in arrears on his bills were cut off abruptly.

"As for me," Stringer said, "I can't get credit anywhere in Mississippi, and I'm just getting started, too."

AFTER EXISTENCE of the semi-secret Councils first was reported by the Associated Press in late summer, the Mississippi Assembly representative from Sunflower County, Mrs. Wilma B. Sledge, issued what she called a "clarifying statement" about the organization.

She said the Councils "are a widespread group composed of reliable white male citizens who believe that segregation is not discrimination and are

organized for the sole purpose of maintaining segregation. . . . She added: "They do not and will not advocate violence in any form."

While the Councils propose to fight the Supreme Court's decision by legal means, there are undercurrents that suggest violence would be tolerated, if necessary, to "keep the Negro in his place."

The movement is backed by some of the state's leading citizens—bankers, politicians, druggists, lawyers, planters, merchants, and newspapermen.

At a meeting October 12 at Winona, a state organization of the Councils was set up with Robert B. Patterson, a Holly Ridge planter and former college football star, as executive secretary. Patterson is the only official whose name has been made public. He plans to establish a permanent office in Winona.

Ostensibly, membership in the Councils is not secret and apparently is well known in various local communities. A stranger who asks about membership, however, even though a Southerner himself, is met with open hostility, suspicion or a plea of ignorance.

The first Citizens Council was organized in Sunflower

County's seat, the town of Indianola. A "public" court there, said to begin with a meeting of five or six men in a private home. Among those present were Patterson and Herman Moore, head of the Indianola Bank.

The plan for the Councils reportedly was drawn from the book, "Black Monday," by Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, in which the theory of economic pressures is advanced. ("Black Monday" is the designation given by the Supreme Court segregation decision to May 17, the day the decision was announced.)

Moore subsequently became chairman of the Indianola Council. The minutes of the first meeting were duplicated and distributed throughout the State to a carefully selected mailing list.

According to the minutes, Arthur J. Clark, Jr., an attorney, explained:

"It is the thought of our group that the solution to this problem may become easier if various agitators and the like could be removed from communities in which they

reside. . . . remarks also were made and distributed to a carefully selected

WITH THE ACCOUNT of the Indianola meeting went a letter urging members to read certain publications. The titles of them, while anti-Negro, are also anti-Semitic.

The statement noted that "some of these groups are anti-Semitic; however, all religious groups, including the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, have been pushing the anti-segregation issue, and it is time for all of us to speak out for segregation of the races regardless of race or creed."

In another mailing from Indianola October 15, the point was made:

"Unless we organize, the Negro leaders will continue to exert pressure until violence breaks out, and then, regardless of how you feel, you will be drawn into the conflict, for the issue will be black against white."

Moore refused an interview at Indianola.

Patterson was interviewed at the St. Rest plantation on the Holly Ridge Planting Co. A big man with red hair and pale blue eyes, he was All Southeast end in 1942 at Mississippi State.

AT FIRST HOSTILE and reluctant to talk, he finally replied to some questions.

"As long as there is no integration," he said, "there will be no trouble. We sincerely mean every word. We have the interest of the Negro at heart as much as our own. A lot of people will never understand that. We don't expect them to understand."

"I am living here on a plantation with 35 Negro families. We never have any trouble and we are getting along fine."

The 35 Negro families are mostly cotton-pickers, living in shacks without plumbing. They begin work in the fields before they are 7 years old and seldom get beyond second or third grade in school. "Communists," said Patterson, "are trying to make us integrate, weaken us and destroy us."

MISSISSIPPI STATE officials are firmly committed to the integration of the State schools. The legislature

10-307-1

approved a proposed constitutional amendment permitting abolition of the public school system. This would pave the way for the State to turn over schools to "private" operators who could continue segregation. The proposition will be voted on in a special election December 21.

Attorney General J. P. Coleman has asked every white member of the State Bar Association to accept appointment as a special assistant to defend school officials in segregation suits. In an interview, he said he had received more than 1200 favorable replies from "all but two or three of the practicing active members."

When asked whether operation of the Citizens Councils might violate the conspiracy sections of the Federal Civil Rights law, Coleman replied:

"Frankly, I don't know. They'd have to be indicted by a Mississippi grand jury and tried before a Mississippi petit jury, and it would not take long to see that justice was done."

OTHER LARGE and apparently well organized private group fighting segregation, the American States Rights Association, was incorporated in Alabama last February.

There were 600 names on the list of incorporators, including a substantial number of prominent and wealthy people. The ASRA twice has taken quarter-page advertisements in all the State's daily and 40 of the weekly newspapers. It broadcasts twice a day, five days a week over Radio Station WILD in Birmingham.

The two leading figures in the formation of ASRA have been Olin H. Horton, personnel manager for the Employers Insurance Co. of Birmingham, and his boss, William H. Hoover, board chairman and president. Asked how the

planned to combat school integration, Hoover replied: "What we are going to do is abolish the public schools and set them up as private and take a hundred years to pay for them."

Hoover also observed, "It may be that a 100 million white people will have to get together and send 15 million Negroes back to Africa."

Membership in the ASRA is \$25 for a regular, voting membership and \$1 for an associate, non-voting membership.

Horton said the organization's mailing list had 5000 names and "goes right down to the grass roots."

SCATTERED through the South, mostly in Georgia and Florida, are other organizations. Among them are the "White Brotherhood" in Florida, headed by Bill Hendrix of Tallahassee, former self-styled Grand Dragon of the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of the White People" at Griffin, Ga., among whose leaders is Dr. Marvin Head, former Kleagle of the Klan unit at Griffin; the National Association for the Preservation of the White Race" at Augusta, Ga., whose president is a former Klan member; "Florida States Rights, Inc.," chartered in Dade County (Miami); The Southerners," at Mobile, Ala., and perhaps a half dozen others.

No one can really tell with certainty whether these groups

will grow stronger or fade away. But if there is violence in the South over attempts at integration, it is likely they will be involved.

Stringer, the Mississippi NAACP head, does not believe there will be violence in his State. Dr. A. H. McCoy, a Jackson Negro dentist also active in the NAACP, has a different opinion. He said:

"In Jackson, where there is more intelligence and education, I don't think there will be much trouble, but in the rurals, where all they've heard is Bilbo-type talk and where they can barely read and write

many whites there may be trouble.

"When they integrate they might as well have Federal agents around; the local enforcement officers won't protect the Negro. They danger these Citizens Councils may whip up sentiment among the less desirable elements."

"If there is violence," continued, "the white people are going to shed blood. You know a man sometime will let you push him around but you start monkeying with his children and he forgets about the hereafter."

1 - Mr. Belmont

b6
b7c

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

December 17, 1954

Director, FBI

RECORDED 43

105-34237-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/00 BY 60247 MSA/EA

SE-17

THE CITIZENS COUNCILS (OF MISSISSIPPI)
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

41842

EW 2-1 km

THE AMERICAN STATES RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - X
FBI FILE 105-27471

EX-124

Reference is made to your memorandum dated December 10, 1954, your file references 146-1-2402 and 146-1-2404, WFT:MM:raik, suggesting the Bureau conduct an investigation of the captioned organizations for the Department's consideration pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The investigation of the Citizens Councils (of Mississippi) is being referred to our New Orleans Office and Memphis Office and the investigation of the American States Rights Association is being referred to our Birmingham Office. The results of these investigations will be forwarded to you upon receipt thereof.

- 2cc - SAC, New Orleans (W/Enclosure)
- 2cc - SAC, Memphis (W/Enclosure)
- 2cc - SAC, Birmingham (W/Enclosure)

Attention SACs New Orleans and Memphis:

There are enclosed for your information and guidance two Photostats of a self-explanatory memorandum from the Department dated December 10, 1954, together with the enclosure thereto. New Orleans and Memphis are instructed to conduct an investigation of the Citizens Councils (of Mississippi) in accordance with Section 87 D of the Manual of Instructions. The results of your investigation should be submitted in report form suitable for dissemination. It is desired that your reports reach the Bureau no later than February 17, 1955. New Orleans is designated Office of Origin in this matter.

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

Attention SAC, Birmingham:

ReBulet to Birmingham dated November 15, 1954, captioned "American States Rights Association, Internal Security - X" instructing you to submit a report no later than January 15, 1955.

DEC 27 1954

MAILED 6
DEC 17 1954
COMM-FBI

cc: 105-27471

(American States Rights Association)

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

There are enclosed for your information two Photostats of a memorandum from the Department dated December 10, 1954, together with the enclosure thereto. In view of the Department's interest in this matter the deadline of January 15, 1955, must be met without fail.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: 1-10-55

FROM : A. H. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/29/01 BY 60207NLS/EP1
918421

SUBJECT: THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS (OF MISSISSIPPI)
ROBERT B. PATTERSON
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

A letter dated 12-29-54, together with enclosure, from Robert B. Patterson, Secretary of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (CCM), Winona, Mississippi, which reflects that a copy of the letter was designated for President Dwight D. Eisenhower, claims that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has requested an investigation of the CCM. It adds that the NAACP specializes in stirring up resentment among the Negroes and that Channing H. Tobias, NAACP official, has been affiliated with 20 organizations and publications which have been cited.

The letter enclosed a report reflecting that the northern states have a larger percentage of Negroes in prison in proportion to population than the southern states. The letter also enclosed data based on the Bureau's Uniform Crime Reports of 1952 reflecting that in most cases, crimes committed by Negroes are greater in relation to their population than those committed by whites. Comparison of the data with the Bureau's Uniform Crime Reports does not reflect misrepresentation.

Bufiles reflect that in December, 1953, correspondent forwarded by letter to the Director anti-integration literature. His letter was acknowledged under the signature of Miss Gandy. A subsequent letter of similar nature was received from him in January, 1954, and no acknowledgment was given because of its contents. (100-0-29390 and 100-0-29476)

The CCM is subject of a security investigation which was opened in December, 1954. (~~105-34257~~)

Channing H. Tobias is the subject of a closed investigation. He has been described as a loyal American who had been "taken in" by front organizations because of his work among the Negroes.

In view of the correspondent's anti-integration activities and the fact that his organization is presently the subject of a security investigation, acknowledgment of his letter does not appear to be advisable. A letter has been prepared to Memphis Office

Attachment

- cc - Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Baumgardner
- Mr. Rozamus

RECORDED - 50

7 JAN 12 1955

INDEXED - 50

60 JAN 20 1955 F291

105-34237-26
3-MR

forwarding copies of the material received from correspondent.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) No acknowledgment be afforded correspondent's present or future letters.

(2) The attached letter be sent to Memphis Office.

*File
1-10*

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

ASSOCIATION OF
CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI

WINONA, MISSISSIPPI
December 29, 1954

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-13-87 BY SP5Cij/jac
(275,279)

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I see that the National Association for the Agitation of Colored People has asked that the Citizens' Councils be investigated.

After forty years of using every tactic, pressure, and scheme known to man in accomplishing their aims they set up a howl when they see public opinion turning against them. They have used among other things economic, political, and social pressure, along with half-truths, misrepresentations, and outright lies.

They specialize in stirring up hatred and resentment among the colored people towards the white man all over this country. They then pit states having 4% negro population against states having 45% negro population in the name of brotherhood and equality. Please note the enclosed prison statistics, which may be verified. This shows how much more successful they have been in the North than in the South.

"Channing H. Tobias one of the Directors of the Field Foundation, Inc. has been affiliated with 20 organizations and publications which are cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General, House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. (See American Legion Report on The Field Foundation, Inc., 5-25-54, page 33)." This is the NAACP Board Chairman who wants our Councils investigated.

Mississippi with nearly a million negroes has the highest per cent negro population of any state in the union, and they remain here through choice. The NAACP is succeeding in driving the white people out of Washington, D. C. We shall not be driven from our native state.

We have nothing to hide, not even the fact that in Mississippi neither our white or colored citizens have any fear or respect for the vicious NAACP. The only crime we are guilty of has been complacency and apathy towards the sinister forces that would destroy our nation.

Sincerely, 7 JAN 12 1955

Robert B. Patterson
Secretary
Citizens' Council

RECORDED - 50
INDEXED - 50
EX-103

cc: President Eisenhower

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Communities and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights

ENCL.

Miss Oadmont to
R. Boardman
1-10-55
L.S.P.C. - ME
1-10-55
mqr

5-8R

REPORT COMPILED BY AMERICAN STATES' RIGHTS ASSN., INC.,
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

FINAL REPORT ON PRISON POPULATION IN THIRTY-TWO STATES AND
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. SOME OTHER STATES REPORTED BUT
WITHOUT RACIAL BREAKDOWNS. THEY, OF COURSE, ARE NOT INCLUDED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED (275, 279)
DATE 11-13-87 BY SP5 cil/jac

STATE	TOTAL POPULATION 1950	NEGRO POPULATION 1950	% NEGRO	TOTAL PRISON POPULATION	NEGRO PRISON POPULATION	% PRISON POPULATION NEGRO
Indiana	3,934,224	174,168	4.4	6,669	1,539	23.0
Michigan	6,371,766	442,296	6.9	8,742	3,153	36.1
New Jersey	4,835,329	318,565	6.6	6,477	2,631	40.6
New York	14,830,192	918,191	6.2	18,665	7,585	40.1
Ohio	7,946,629	513,072	6.5	9,948	3,626	36.4
Penn(Co.)	10,498,012	638,485	6.1	4,049	1,910	44.9
Penn(St.)	10,498,012	638,485	6.1	6,923	2,580	41.0
Rhode Is.	791,896	13,903	1.8	442	66	14.9
Vermont	377,247	443	.01	278	3	1.1
Wisconsin	3,434,575	28,182	.08	1,909	165	8.6
California	10,586,223	462,172	4.4	13,395	2,555	19.0
Kansas	1,905,299	73,158	3.8	1,675	404	24.0
Missouri	3,954,653	297,088	7.5	4,275	1,347	31.5
Oklahoma	2,233,351	145,503	6.5	1,881	430	22.8
Colorado	1,325,089	20,177	1.5	1,436	115	0.8
Idaho	588,637	1,050	0.2	271	8	3.0
Montana	591,024	1,232	0.2	637	15	2.3
Nevada	160,083	4,302	2.7	339	30	8.8
N. Dakota	619,636	257	...	205	1	0.5
Oregon	1,521,341	11,529	.08	1,285	26	2.0
S. Dakota	652,740	727	.01	451	5	1.0
Utah	688,862	2,729	0.4	612	35	5.7
Dis. of Col.	802,176	280,803	35.0	4,157	2,908	70.0
Kentucky	2,944,806	201,921	6.9	3,385	760	24.5
Maryland	2,343,001	385,972	16.5	4,607	2,756	59.8
Alabama	3,061,742	979,617	32.0	4,440	2,846	64.1
Arkansas	1,909,511	426,639	22.3	1,502	692	46.1
Georgia	3,444,578	1062,762	30.8	6,708	4,092	61.0
Florida	2,771,305	603,101	21.7	3,893	1,844	47.4
Louisiana	2,683,516	882,428	32.9	1,124	671	59.6
Miss.	2,178,914	986,494	45.3	1,951	1,432	73.4
S. Car.	2,117,027	822,077	38.8	43.4
Texas	7,711,194	977,458	12.7	7,758	2,551	33.0
Virginia	3,318,680	734,211	22.1	5,720	3,260	57.0
N. Car.	4,061,929	1047,353	25.8	9,455	5,218	55.2

Note particular our National disgrace. The District of Columbia has more negro convicts than either La., Miss., Ark., Ala., Fla., Texas, Kentucky or Maryland.

Note the low incidence of law violations among negroes in the western states, with the exception of California. Also note the very small percentage of negro population in those states.

Another interesting group is Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma. The percentage of negro population is considerably higher in these states than in the Western states and the incidence of law violations among negroes shows a substantial increase.

The pattern seems to be: The larger the concentration of negro population the higher the incidence of crime. This theory is further established in the northern and eastern states where the crime rate percentages have taken another advance. In this group California fits very well, also.

The exception to the pattern is in the southern states, including the District of Columbia, where we have the largest concentration of negro population. In the southern states, in spite of the greater concentration, the incidence of crime among the negroes is considerably less than in the northern and mid-western states.

Many state officials outside the southern states claim that the low socio-economic standards of living are responsible for the high incidence of crime among the negroes in their states.

This theory cannot be accepted, if the widely advertised and generally accepted reports that the southern negroes are the poorest in the country and the most exploited and abused, are to be credited.

Experienced southern officials and students, with wider experience on the subject, point to the presence of segregation as one of the principal contributions to the low incidence of crime in the southern states. These experienced southern people have long been aware of the well known fact that the negro race in our country too often confuses "liberty with license." They are firm in the conviction that segregation serves as a restraint on the exercise of that imagined license.

We regret that we were unable to include several states whose reports did not furnish the desired information. Our sincere thanks to all the states for their ready cooperation.

From several state officials we learn that such a survey has never before been available. We hope, therefore, that this contribution will prove of value to students, psychologists, sociologists, and to law enforcement agencies.

Your comment will be appreciated.

**FBI REPORT EXPOSES THE "BROTHERHOOD" LIE
FACTS FOR "BROTHERHOOD WEEK"**

The following information on negro crime is taken from the "Uniform Crime Reports for the United States and its Possessions" issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, Annual Bulletin, 1952, published by the Government Printing Office and is a report of all persons arrested for crimes in the 232 cities reporting to the FBI for the year of 1952

- 64% arrested for murder were negroes
- 44% arrested for robbery were negroes
- 64% arrested for aggravated assaults were negroes
- 40% arrested for other assaults were negroes
- 30% arrested for burglary-breaking or entering were negroes
- 32% arrested for larceny theft were negroes
- 19% arrested for auto theft were negroes
- 17% arrested for embezzlement and fraud were negroes
- 34% arrested for stolen property, buying, receiving, etc. were negroes
- 14% arrested for forgery and counterfeiting were negroes
- 38% arrested for rape were negroes
- 29% arrested for prostitution and commercial vice were negroes
- 24% arrested for other sex offenses were negroes
- 47% arrested for violation of drug laws were negroes
- 59% arrested for carrying, possessing, etc. weapons were negroes
- 29% arrested for offenses against family and children were negroes
- 45% arrested for violation of liquor laws were negroes
- 15% arrested for driving while intoxicated were negroes
- 35% arrested for disorderly conduct were negroes
- 17% arrested for drunkenness were negroes
- 22% arrested for vagrancy were negroes
- 69% arrested for gambling were negroes
- 26% arrested for suspicion were negroes
- 26% arrested for all other offenses were negroes

NEGROES ONLY 10% OF POPULATION

The 1950 census reported that only 10% of the population of the U.S. are negroes, yet they commit crimes far in excess of their percentage of the population. Is it any wonder that the "brotherhood" crowd tries to suppress this information and stop newspapers from reporting negro crimes or even using the word "negro" in connection with crime news? The above facts make a mockery of the so-called free press. Not one newspaper in the country, to our knowledge, carried this information.

Join the National Citizens Protective Association and help fight the Communist-inspired race-mixing.

Write in for free copies of this leaflet. Enclose postage for mailing. National Citizens Protective Association, 3154a So. Grand, St. Louis 18, Mo.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 11-13-87 BY SP5Cij/pe
(#275,279)

ENCLOSURE

Mr. Rozamus

SAC, Memphis

January 10, 1955

RECORDED - 50

Director, FBI (105-34237)

THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS (OF MISSISSIPPI)
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulet dated December 17, 1954, addressed to the Department, copies of which were designated for your office.

Enclosed for your information are Photostats of a letter dated December 29, 1954, and enclosures, received from Robert B. Patterson, Secretary, Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, Winona, Mississippi.

Bufiles reflect that Channing H. Tobias, mentioned in correspondent's letter, is the subject of a closed security investigation. He had been described as a loyal American who had been "taken in" by front organizations because of his work amongst the Negroes.

The correspondent's letter has not been acknowledged and it will not be necessary for your office to do so.

Enclosures (2)

MJR:fm
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-13-87 BY SP5 CJP/pe
(275,279)

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

COMM - FBI
JAN 10 1955
MAILED 20

60 JAN 20 1955

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following Teletype message to: FBI WA 0711

FBI, MEMPHIS 2/9/55
DIRECTOR, FBI

THE CITIZENS COUNCILS /OF MISS./, IS, X. REURLET TO ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS, DEC. SEVENTEEN, FIFTYFOUR. REPORT NOW IN PREPARATION. UACB, RACE OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED WILL BE INDICATED BY INITIALS W AND N, AS BELIEVED NECESSARY TO PROPER EVALUATION OF REPORT SINCE INVOLVES WHITE VS. NEGRO ACTIVITY.

PIPER

END

GAE:PS
(4)
105-121

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/07 BY 60267N/SEP/EM

918421

Airtel...

Teletype...

A. M.

A. M. S. D.

Spec. Del.

Reg. Mail.

Registered.

105-34237-4
FEB 10 1955

Mr. Belmont

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

RECEIVED

cc [initials]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW ORLEANS

REPORT MADE AT MEMPHIS	DATE WHEN MADE 2/16/55	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 12/14, 27, 29/54; 1/4, 12, 20, 21, 24 31, 2/1-4, 7-9/55	REPORT MADE BY -27, GEORGE A. EVERETT MEN
TITLE ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS (OF MISSISSIPPI)		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - X	

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFIED BY **SP8 BT/csc**
ON **8-6-87**
ADD. DISSEMINATION **269,805**

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

First Citizens Council organized 7/11/54, Indianola, Mississippi, allegedly to maintain school segregation and prevent violation if integration of races attempted. State Association of Citizens Councils formed 10/12/54, Winona, Mississippi, with ROBERT B. PATTERSON of Indianola Executive Secretary. Local Councils now functioning in 25 counties, total membership about 30,000. Association affiliated with Federation of Associations for Constitutional Government, or Federation for Constitutional Government formed 1/21, 22/55, Jackson, Mississippi, by groups from 10 southern states with JOHN U. BARR of Louisiana named temporary chairman. Members of Citizens Councils claim intend to use only legal means and no violence to maintain segregation. Disclaim affiliation with or similarity to Ku Klux Klan. List of officers obtained set out. State objectives include act to oppose voters seeking Negro vote, discourage Negro registration, educate citizens to advantages of segregation and dangers of integration, mobilize public opinion and devise legal means to cope with problems. No force or violence reported. Economic pressures allegedly used against some Negroes opposing segregation. Indication some Negroes have removed names from voters' register due to threat of economic pressure.

ENCL.
INTERFERING WITH
827
3-14-55
103

pk List AAG Tompkins w/ cc of report and 1 photostat each of enclosures 3-7-55
(S)

AGENCY **G-2 ONI, OST**
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. **3-1-55**
HOW FORW. **R/S**
BY **CEW:el**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: **B.E. Piper**
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
105-121-237-5 SE 44

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
 6 - Bureau (Registered Mail) (Encl. 12) (AM)
 3 - New Orleans (Registered Mail) (Encl. 6)
 2 - Memphis (105-121)
5 MAR 22 1955
 ON **3/14/72**
17-25-88

DECLASSIFIED BY **6080** **BI** FEB 23 1955
LED/DAL
AD 246650

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I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION

[redacted] (W), Attorney, Indianola, Mississippi advised SA GEORGE A. EVERETT on February 8, 1955, that the first Citizens Council in Mississippi was organized at Indianola on July 11, 1954, when numerous people became alarmed over rumors that several local Negro families planned to send their children to the white schools when the schools opened about September 1, 1954. While the fundamental purpose was to maintain segregation in the schools, he stated, one of the motivating forces was the knowledge that some responsible citizens should be present at the various schools to take charge if necessary to see that no violence occurred, since they realized that if violence were to occur, their cause would be lost. This feeling was communicated to other towns and [redacted] understands councils were formed in many communities, shortly before the schools opened, and the councils had representatives at the schools in order to prevent any violence. He stated that there were no reports of Negroes attempting to enroll in any of the white schools in Mississippi and consequently no incidents occurred.

The value of the Citizens Councils in the fight to preserve segregation, he stated, was quickly recognized and councils were formed in many counties of the state after the school problem was no longer of immediate concern to the white people.

A mimeographed open letter, signed "~~FRED JONES~~", member of the Board of Supervisors, Sunflower County, District 1" dated October 15, 1954, and distributed by the Association of Citizens Councils (of Mississippi,) under the same date, discloses that the state wide Association was formed October 12, 1954, at a meeting at Winona, Mississippi by representatives of Citizens Councils from 21 counties. (This letter, together with other mimeographed material, was mailed to SA GEORGE A. EVERETT under date of October 20, 1954, from the Associations State Headquarters at Winona.)

[redacted] (W), Attorney and member of the Mississippi State Legislature, who resides at Belzoni, Mississippi, advised SA EVERETT on February 4, 1955 that there are Citizens Councils in about 25 of the State's 82 counties, with a total membership of about 30,000. In some counties, there are several councils. He believes all

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of the local Councils are now affiliated with the State Association, although there was reluctance on the part of some at the outset to join the Association, preferring to stay completely independent. He stated that the last meeting of the Association was held in Jackson, Mississippi on January 25 or 26, 1955.

MISS
[redacted] further stated on February 8, 1955, he had learned from [redacted] Chairman of the Citizens Council of Indianola, that [redacted] attended a recent meeting in Jackson of representatives from 10 southern states at which meeting a group to be known as the Federation of Associations for Constitutional Government was formed. *MISS*

The Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, hereafter called the Association, joined in the formation of the Federation of Associations for Constitutional Government, which is composed of organizations of responsible people rather than groups which might be in improper hands, he said. [redacted] stated that [redacted] also told him that while the Association at this time was not pushing for national expansion, this was a very distinct possibility and one of the Association's ultimate goals. *DC*

On January 12, 1955, [redacted] (W), [redacted] Delta Democrat Times, a daily newspaper at Greenville, Mississippi, was interviewed by SA [redacted]. He informed that his paper has been extremely interested in the Citizens Councils of Mississippi and that he had contacted a number of persons concerning this matter and has gathered a considerable amount of information. He mentioned that as a matter of fact, during some of his inquiries, he encountered VEVE, Associated Press news feature reporter from Washington, D. C., who wrote an article regarding Citizens Councils which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Sunday, November 21, 1954, and they interviewed some of the same persons. [redacted] related that his inquiries reflected the Citizens Councils were organized about 7/54 at Indianola, Mississippi, and ultimately such organizations were formed in thirty counties in the state, mainly in the Delta area. He said, however, there are a few counties nearly to the Alabama line and 2 or 3 south of Jackson, Mississippi where Citizens Councils are functioning. He mentioned there is a Citizens Council at Cleveland, Mississippi, and one at Leland, Mississippi. *MISS*

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According to [redacted] the headquarters of the Citizens Councils is at Winona, Mississippi, and the head of the organization is ROBERT B. PATTERSON, who has an office in Winona, and who operates a plantation at Indianola. He said that spokesmen stated the members of the Citizens Councils planned to use economic, social, and political pressure to obtain their ends. [redacted] said that the organization has a legal advisory committee to prevent committing any illegal acts. He mentioned he learned there is a \$5.00 annual membership fee, which is used mainly for dissemination of propaganda. [redacted] informed that members of the Citizens Councils strongly disclaim any connection with the Ku Klux Klan. He said as a matter of fact, some persons joined the Citizens Councils to prevent the rising of the Ku Klux Klan, with the idea that responsible citizens banded together to take legal action would prevent a need for the Klan to be re-activated. He mentioned that at its inception, in his opinion, there was nothing illegal in the Citizens Councils. He pointed out that in some instances, members acting as individuals had used the Citizens Councils for their own ends, and it is accordingly difficult to determine whether members are acting as individuals or as representatives of the Citizens Councils.

He pointed out that in most instances, the Citizens Councils are not closely enough knit for the members to know exactly what is going on in their respective group. [redacted] said he knew of no specific violations of law committed by the Citizens Council. He stated he had received information concerning several instances which border on the illegal, although he did not know whether individuals or Citizens Councils groups were responsible.

[redacted] (W), Attorney [redacted] Greenwood, Mississippi, a former [redacted] advised SA EVERETT on February 1, 1955, that he is a member of the Citizens Council of Greenwood and has attended several meetings. There is no regular meeting schedule and only call meetings are held. The primary purpose of the Citizens Council of Greenwood is to preserve segregation in the schools. He stated the leading citizens in the community are officers and members of that Council and also they are thoroughly loyal Americans who feel that segregation is desirable and necessary in the South.

The local setup is rather a loose organization, having no permanent administrative set-up, according to [redacted]. He stated that at least ninety percent of the membership would immediately withdraw from the organization if violence in

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any form were advocated. There is no connection, he stated, between the Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, and the Council is on record as opposing Ku Klux Klan tactics. The main purpose behind the formation of the Councils, he stated, is to raise money and organize support to combat legally the political pressures of the NAACP with regard to segregation.

[redacted] further advised SA EVERETT on February 4, 1955, that the Citizens Council organization is more of a political organization than anything else and is not secret. Practically every move made by the Councils has been reported in newspapers and is common knowledge. The main activity to date has been in getting out the vote on the recently approved State constitutional amendment relating to the Mississippi school system. The objective of the Association is to disseminate information and urge bloc voting among the white people. Any illegal action is strictly against the policy of the organization. He stated that every meeting is opened with a prayer and all members are pledged to defend the United States. Any member who advocates or believes in the overthrow of the United States Government will be dropped from the group and immediately reported to the FBI. Known "hot heads", irresponsible agitators, criminals, and the like, are not eligible for membership in Citizens Councils, but membership is open to any other white citizen.

[redacted] also stated that the Association desires eventually to enlarge the organization on a national scope for the purpose of opposing candidates for office who advocate radical changes in life for their own selfish political advantage. He said that as a result of the United States Supreme Court's decision in the late 1800's, declaring separate but equal facilities to be legal, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed and through political and other pressures, finally succeeded in having the Supreme Court reverse that interpretation. Now, the white people are organizing to bring the same pressure to bear to get the 1954 decision reversed.

[redacted] also stated that the only incorporated Citizens Council in Mississippi is the one in Bolivar County. The articles of incorporation of that Council are filed with the Secretary of State at Jackson, Mississippi.

On December 14, 1954, [redacted] (W), [redacted] Leland, Mississippi, advised SA [redacted] that he has taken a very active part in organizing a Citizens Council at

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Leland. He related that during the summer of 1954, he and a number of other citizens of Leland decided it was advisable to form a group of persons to aid the State and local officials in maintaining segregation in the public schools by use of all lawful means.

[redacted] continued that a meeting was held in August, 1954, which was attended by only a very small group of persons. On that occasion it was decided to assess \$5.00 annual dues to finance activities of the local Citizens Council, and each person in attendance was urged to recruit four others. [redacted] advised that a second meeting was held several weeks later, at which approximately 200 persons were in attendance. Subsequently, a third meeting was held, which was also well attended, at which a Circuit Court Judge from South Mississippi (name not recalled) spoke on the subject of segregation. [redacted] stated that any and all persons who favor continuing segregation in the public schools are eligible and welcome to participate in the meetings of the Citizens Council at Leland. He advised that the organization has no permanent officers at the present time.

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[redacted] mentioned that the Ku Klux Klan was a very powerful organization in this community many years ago, but that it has not been reactivated and there are absolutely no ties between that organization and the Citizens Council. He said that he and many others in this area feel very strongly concerning segregation in the schools, and they do not plan under any circumstances to have it ended. He mentioned that the local Citizens Council had been urging the passing of an amendment permitting abolition of public schools by the legislature if this step becomes necessary, which amendment would be brought to public vote on December 21, 1954.

On February 4, 1955, [redacted] (W), Attorney and [redacted] Clarksdale, Mississippi, advised SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS that he was contacted approximately 3 months ago by ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary of the Citizens Council, who requested [redacted] to organize a Citizens Council in Coahoma and Tunica Counties, but he declined to do so.

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[redacted] stated that to his knowledge, Citizens Councils have not been organized in Coahoma or Tunica Counties and nothing further has come to his attention reflecting any activity toward organization in those two counties.

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Confidential Informant T-1 (W), [redacted] of [redacted] reliability, [redacted] UNKNOW

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ME # 105-121

stated on February 2, 1955, that about October, 1954, a group of reputable citizens in the County met at the West Tallahatchie County High School in Webb, Mississippi, for the purpose of organizing a Citizens Council. It was decided that the meeting should be attended by citizens of good reputation and character, in order to keep "hot heads" and "riff-raff" out of the group. Since the first meetings forming the council, there have been organizational meetings in precincts of the county at Charleston, Webb and Philipp. To date, there have been no meetings in the voting precincts of Tutwiler, Vance, Sumner, and Brazil-Stover. According to T-1, the primary purpose of the Citizens Council is to bring economic pressure on any individual, either colored or white, who advocates abolition of segregation. T-1 stated that no action has been taken against any person in Tallahatchie County by the Citizens Council, as far as he knows.

On February 7, 1955, the following individuals advised SA HOPKINS that the Citizens Councils had not been organized in Panola County:

T-2 (W) and T-3 (W) of known reliability
Inspector [redacted] (W), Mississippi Highway Patrol
Patrolman [redacted] (W), MHS
ROSS E. DABBY (W), Sheriff
[redacted] (C)
all of Batesville, Mississippi
[redacted] (W), Deputy Sheriff
[redacted] (W), Town Marshal, both Sardis, Mississippi

On February 8, 1955, Sheriff LOYD FARMER (W), Water Valley, and [redacted] (W) Merchant, of Coffeeville, Mississippi, advised SA HOPKINS that no Citizens Council has been organized in Yalobusha County, and no activity toward formation of such a Council has been noted.

On February 8, 1955, Sheriff JOHN H. KIMBRO (W), Deputy Sheriff [redacted] (W), and T-4, of known reliability, all Marks, Mississippi, advised SA HOPKINS they were not aware of any activity toward organizing a Citizens Council in Quitman County.

On February 8, 1955, H. B. CARGILE, Sheriff and farm owner (W), Tunica, Mississippi, advised SA JOHN DANIEL SULLIVAN that several months ago a meeting was held by leading citizens in Tunica, at which time it was decided, in

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view of the absence of any agitation among the white and Negro people in the county, that it was not desirable to organize a Citizens Council in Tunica County.

[redacted] (W), [redacted] Woolf and Woolf, a chain of Negro funeral homes having offices in Clarksdale, Tunica, Mississippi, and Memphis, Tennessee, advised SA SULLIVAN on February 8, 1955, that he is a national officer of the Negro Shriners, a 33rd Degree Mason and a Past Master of the Negro Masonic Lodge, Tunica, Mississippi. He stated that on the first Thursday of each month, approximately 100 Negro Masons meet at Woolf's Funeral Home in Tunica, and none of these persons have mentioned to him any activity on the part of Citizens Councils in Coahoma or Tunica Counties.

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Confidential Informant T-5 (N) of unknown reliability, advised that he was not aware of any Citizens Council activity in Tunica County.

On February 7, 1955, [redacted] Identification Officer, Clarksdale, Mississippi Police Department, (W), advised SA SULLIVAN he was positive that the Citizens Council is not active in Coahoma County. He stated that if this organization were present, he is certain he would know about it.

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Confidential Informant T-6 (N) of unknown reliability, advised on February 6, 1955, he is positive that the Citizens Council is not active in Coahoma or Tunica Counties.

Confidential Informant T-7 (W) of known reliability, advised SA HOPKINS on February 1, 1955, that there has been no activity on the part of the Citizens Council toward organizing in Tunica County.

On February 8, 1955, [redacted] (W), and [redacted] (W), and on February 9, 1955, [redacted] (W), Circuit Court Clerk, Clarksdale, advised SA HOPKINS they had no knowledge concerning the formation of a Citizens Council in Coahoma County and had no information to indicate any Council activities.

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On the dates indicated, the following individuals advised SA SAM H. ALLEN, JR., that no Citizens Councils had been formed in the Counties in which they reside:

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Sheriff BEN HOLLY, Booneville, Mississippi, January 27, 1955

[redacted] Booneville, Mississippi, January 27, 1955

ED ALLEN, Chief of Police, Corinth, Mississippi, January 27, 1955

BOBBY LIDDON, Sheriff, Corinth, January 27, 1955

Sheriff MITCHELL GRISSON, Tupelo, Mississippi, January 26, 1955

Chief of Police ROBERT MONAGHAN, Tupelo, Mississippi, January 25, 1955

Sheriff FULTON TUTOR, Pontotoc, Mississippi, January 26, 1955

[redacted] Iuka, Mississippi, January 25, 1955

[redacted] Iuka, January 25, 1955

Sheriff W. T. DEXTER, Iuka, January 25, 1955

Sheriff LUTHER HAMILTON, New Albany, Mississippi, January 20, 1955

[redacted] New Albany, January 20, 1955

Sheriff JOE NABORS, Ripley, Mississippi, February 2, 1955

[redacted] Ripley, February 2, 1955

[redacted] Ripley, February 2, 1955

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On January 4, 1955, the Memphis Office received from [redacted] (W), [redacted] Dumas, Mississippi, through the mails, a letter from ROBERT B. PATTERSON of the Association, dated December 31, 1954, enclosing a map of the State of Mississippi, reflecting 25 counties in which Citizens Councils were organized. The Counties shown are as follows:

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13 M
12 NO

- M Tate, M Bolivar, M Washington, M Sunflower, M Tallahatchie
- M Leflore, M Humphreys, M Grenada, M Carroll, M Montgomery,
- M Attala, M Winston, M Lowndes, M Noxubee, M Neshoba, M Leake,
- M Scott, M Madison, M Holmes, M Yazoo, M Sharkey, M Adams
- M Copiah, M Lincoln, M Walthall,

II. OFFICERS - STATE AND LOCAL

A. State Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi

[redacted] and [redacted] identified above, all advised SA EVERETT when originally interviewed that ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary, is the only State Officer whose identity has been publicly disclosed. [redacted] and [redacted] stated the reason for not announcing the names of other State Officers is to protect them from attacks by irresponsible elements. They stated they do not know the identities of all the Association officers and that they do not believe they should furnish a partial list but that a complete list could be obtained by contacting PATTERSON.

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On June 15, 1954, in connection with investigation concerning another matter, [redacted] Storekeeper,

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Holly Ridge, Mississippi, advised SA EVERETT that ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Post Office Box 106, Holly Ridge, is Manager of the Saints Rest Plantation which is owned by [REDACTED] PATTERSON he stated had written several letters to newspapers and periodicals expressing a strong sentiment in favor of segregation of the races. He advised that PATTERSON is opposed to the present efforts towards integration in the South. He characterized PATTERSON as a fine, honest, straightforward man who would have no dealings with any person or organization which might have as its purpose subversion of the United States Government.

In the same matter, [REDACTED] Holly Ridge, Mississippi, advised SA EVERETT on June 15, 1954, that PATTERSON is a thoroughly loyal American who believes in equality but segregation of the races. He stated that PATTERSON employs Negro labor on the farm every day and deals with Negroes constantly and has never been known to mistreat one, but PATTERSON strongly feels that elimination of segregation would be bad for the South and he feels he should make his views known. He stated that when PATTERSON first started writing articles concerning his beliefs, he notified the FBI of his activities, feeling that sooner or later someone would report him for investigation.

[REDACTED] advised that PATTERSON is a graduate of Mississippi State College, where he was Captain of the football team, was a Major in the 82nd Airborne Division of the United States Army, and served as Provost Marshal of Berlin during part of the occupation of Germany, after World War II.

[REDACTED] stated that PATTERSON made no effort to conceal his activities and his views since he is thoroughly open and above-board and is in no way anti-American.

[REDACTED] (W), Town Marshal, Winona, Mississippi, advised SA EVERETT on February 3, 1955, that the only employee in the Association's office in addition to PATTERSON is [REDACTED] widow of a former local attorney and State Legislator, who is PATTERSON'S Secretary. The Association's office is on the second floor of the Telephone Building in Winona. *Miss*

[REDACTED] further advised SA EVERETT on February 4, 1955, that the Association is controlled by an Executive Committee composed of one representative from each of the several districts in the State. The only persons connected with the local Councils or the State Association who are paid employees are PATTERSON and his secretary at Winona.

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[redacted] on February 8, 1955, further advised SA EVERETT that he has been told by [redacted] that the State Association is composed of two Directors from each participating county. From those Directors, an Executive Committee has been or will be selected, one from each District of the State. The method of districting the State has not been decided upon but it is probable that the Districts will embrace counties in a line from the east to west borders of the State. No chairman of the Executive Committee has been elected to date.

B. Local Citizens Councils Officers And Leaders

The following names and information were furnished to SA EVERETT by [redacted] on February 8, 1955:

Sunflower County, Mississippi

- Indianola - [redacted] Chairman, [redacted]
- Ruleville - [redacted] MISS
- Sunflower - [redacted]

Leflore County, Mississippi

- Greenwood - [redacted] Chairman [redacted] MISS
- Itta Bena - [redacted] Chairman, [redacted] MISS

The following names and information were furnished SA EVERETT by [redacted] on February 1, 1955:

[redacted] temporary Chairman, attended State Association meeting 1/26/55, Jackson, Mississippi

[redacted] Finance Officer [redacted]

The following names and information were furnished SA EVERETT on 2/4/55 by [redacted] Humphreys County:

- Belzoni, Mississippi - [redacted] Chairman, [redacted]
- [redacted] - Information Committee

[redacted]

LOCAL COUNCILS OFFICERS

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(Belzoni, cont) [redacted] Legal Committee [redacted]
[redacted] Membership Committee [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] stated there are about 500 members in Humphreys County, there being separate Councils in Belzoni, Louise, and Isola. He does not know the officers of the Louise and Isola Councils. He stated political office holders and candidates are not eligible to be Council officers, therefore [redacted] candidate for [redacted] and [redacted] a candidate for reelection for the [redacted] must resign their offices.

[redacted] on February 3, 1955, advised SA EVERETT of the following:

Montgomery County, Mississippi

Winona - [redacted] Chairman [redacted]

The following information was obtained by SA KYLE M. McPHAIL on January 4, 1955, from [redacted] Columbus, Mississippi:

Lowndes County *Miss*

Chairman, [redacted]

District Officers -

BEAT # 1 [redacted] Caledonia

BEAT # 2 [redacted] Columbus
[redacted] for Lee High School
[redacted] for Junior High School
[redacted] for Franklin Institute
[redacted] for Stokes-Beard School
[redacted] for Demonstration School
[redacted] for Barrow School
[redacted] for Mississippi State College for Women

BEAT # 3 [redacted] for New Hope
[redacted] Steens
[redacted] Rural Hill

BEAT # 4 [redacted] Crawford
[redacted] Trinity

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CITIZEN COUNCIL OFFICERS OR LEADERS

BEAT # 5

[redacted] Prairie Miss
[redacted] Artesia Miss
[redacted] Plymouth Miss

All of the above named men are highly respected and prosperous white businessmen of Lowndes County, Mississippi, [redacted] having been past President of [redacted] a very prominent insurance man; [redacted] of Columbus; [redacted] former President of the [redacted] former President of the [redacted] Attorney and active Church member of Columbus.

[redacted] stated that there are no dues assessed against the membership of the organization. He stated voluntary contributions are accepted and are used to defray the expense of publicity for the organization. He said they have no desire to keep their membership in a confidential status.

The list of Lowndes County Council's officers appeared in the October 28, 1954 issue of the Commercial Dispatch, Columbus, Mississippi newspaper. In the same article, it was indicated that the Council was formed on the night of October 27, 1954, at Columbus, Mississippi. Making addresses at the meeting were HUGH V. WALL, former jurist and prominent South Mississippi Attorney; and ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary of the Association.

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b7c

The following was obtained by SA [redacted] from [redacted] on January 12, 1955:

Washington County

Leland, Mississippi - [redacted] President [redacted] an official [redacted]

[redacted] further advised that [redacted] and [redacted] of Leland have both been active participants in the Council.

The following list was furnished by Confidential Informant T-1 on February 2, 1955:

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Tallahatchie County, Mississippi

Charleston - [redacted]

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LOCAL COUNTY Council Officers

Charleston (Cont) -

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Precinct Officers -

Tutwiler

Vance

Sumner

Webb

Glendora

Webb

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

[Redacted] further advised SA EVERETT on February 8, 1955, that although [Redacted]

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[Redacted] a copy or rough draft but feels that ROBERT B. PATTERSON would furnish one if contacted directly. [Redacted] stated the constitution does not contain any statement concerning objectives other than those which have been publicly announced. He furnished a printed sheet setting out committees to be formed in Councils and reflecting the duties of each committee. He stated that these represent all of the aims and objectives covered by the constitution. This is set forth as follows:

"CITIZENS COUNCIL

"COMMITTEES:

"1. Political and Elections Committee - Screen all candidates in local and state elections against those who might be seeking the negro vote. If necessary, organize a white private election, within our group, to combat the negro bloc vote (as our old white primary). Discourage negro registration by every legal means.

"2. Information and Education Committee - Gather information pertaining to segregation from all over our nation. Seek facts to present to our people. Educate all citizens, black and white, to the advantages of segregation and the dangers of integration. Handle press, radio and speakers. Coordinates with other similar organizations.

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"3. Membership and Finance Committee - Seeks white patriotic voters for membership. We must mobilize public opinion.

"4. Legal Advisory Committee - Anticipates moves by agitators and devises legal means for handling any problem that may arise. Provides legal council for all members.

"We will be in a position to support any national organization that we feel sanctions our ideals. If all eighty-two counties in Mississippi and the South were to organize, as we are doing, what would our possibilities be? "

[redacted] further advised SA EVERETT on February 4, 1955, that the Association and Local Council have no by-laws. He believes the only place a copy of the constitution can be obtained is from PATTERSON.

The following mimeographed pamphlet captioned: "NEWS BULLETIN # 5, January 27, 1955" mailed by the Association on February 2, 1955, to [redacted] Dumas, Mississippi, and furnished by [redacted] to the Memphis Office on February 7, 1955, reports principally on the formation of the Federation for Constitutional Government:

"NEWS BULLETIN NO. 5
January 27, 1955

"Our Statewide conference of the Association of Citizens' Councils was held in Jackson January 26 in the Victory Room at the Heidelberg. Over 400 men from all over our state were present.

"Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven gave the invocation followed by identification of the various counties.

"The Hon. Fred Jones of Inverness was asked to report on a Southwide Conference with representatives from ten states that had been held in Jackson on January 21 and 22. Mr. Jones reported that Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi, all had fine delegations there. The group resolved to form an organization called "Federation for Constitutional Government". The idea was to create a coordinating agency to work with the various state organizations in preserving constitutional government which, of course, includes States' Rights. The Temporary Chairman is John U. Barr, the old States' Righter from Louisiana. An executive committee was appointed to assist Mr. Barr in carrying out the aims of the organization. It is most inspirational to know that our

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"sister states are standing with us at a time when our State Sovereignty is being so direly threatened. You will be hearing more about this group.

CITIZENS COUNCIL

"Many fine speakers were heard following Mr. Jones' report, including Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, Mr. Walter Sillers of Rosedale. Mr. Sillers emphasized the need for organization in mobilizing and concerting public opinion against the forces of evil which are attempting to destroy us.

The group decided to increase the State Association Temporary Executive Committee to nine men, one from each of the following counties: Holmes, Leake, Leflore, Montgomery, Noxubee, Sunflower, Lincoln, Tate, and Amite. These men were elected unanimously.

"The hearts and minds of those present were of one accord, that is, to preserve our way of life and our white heritage of sixty centuries.

"We believe the sentiments of the group there represented those of at least 95% of the white population in our State.

"Different speakers brought out the need for the various religious groups to take a stand on the segregation issue on a local level.

"Another point brought out was the necessity of seeing that our children are not taught left-wing propoganda and the responsibility of the various county groups in interesting our young people in the great problem which we face today.

"What we must do now is for each county to go back and complete the organization of their local groups and then assist adjoining unorganized counties to setup their organization. In this way, in a few months we could complete the organization of our state so that we might stand united against the assault that will be thrust against us in the near future. We always welcome suggestions and recommendations from our local groups. They should be submitted either to one of our Executive Committee or to the State Office. "

The remainder of this bulletin reflects the comparison of venereal disease rates and illegitimate birth rates in 1953 in several southern states between white and Negro residents. Also printed on this bulletin is a quotation of the Declaration of Independence.

Subsequent to the above interview with [redacted] by letter dated February 9, 1955, [redacted] mailed to SA EVERETT two copies of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Indianola Citizens Council, which he obtained from an undisclosed source. He advised that it was not the constitution [redacted] was for the Association. The mimeographed document is quoted as follows:

"CONSTITUTION

" I. NAME

The name of this organization is the Indianola Citizens Council.

"II. OBJECT

The Indianola Citizens Council is dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquility in our community, and in our state, and to the preservation of our states rights.

"III MEMBERSHIP

The membership of this council shall consist of patriotic, white male citizens.

"IV OFFICERS

The officers of this organization shall consist of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and Executive Committee.

(1) The Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, and the Treasurer shall hold their office for one year from the date of the election, or until successors have been chosen.

(2) The executive committee shall consist of 12 men in addition to the officers above named. One third of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually.

"V DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

(1) The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the organization, can call special meetings of the membership, and serve as chairman of the Executive Committee, and ex-officio member of all committees.

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" (2) The Vice-Chairman shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee, and serve as Chairman in his absence.

(3) The Secretary shall keep the records and serve on the Executive Committee. He shall also notify the membership of meetings.

(4) The Treasurer shall collect and receive the funds of the organization, and disburse them on approval of the Chairman. All disbursement shall be made by check. The Treasurer is a member of the Executive Committee. The Treasurer shall submit an annual report to the membership. The fiscal year shall end August 31.

(5) The Executive Committee shall determine and control the policies, and conduct the affairs of the organization.

"VI EXPULSION OF MEMBERS

Members may be expelled for cause, upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, and approval of a majority of the membership.

"VII MEETINGS

(1) The annual meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday of September of each year, for the purpose of electing officers, and any other business.

(2) A semi-annual business meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday of March.

(3) The Chairman may call a special meeting of the membership at any time he may deem it necessary.

" VIII AMENDMENTS

The Constitution may be amended or changed by a two-thirds vote of the membership at any annual or semi-annual meeting.

"BY-LAWS

"1 - All meetings shall be called by the Chairman and Secretary, to be held at such place and time as they may designate.

"2 - The annual dues shall be \$5.00 per year.

"3 - The following Committees will be appointed by the Chairman

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"with the approval of the Executive Committee:

- "A - Political and Election Committee
- "B - Information and Education Committee
- "C - Membership and Finance Committee
- "D - Legal Advisory Committee

"The number of members on each Committee shall be at the discretion of the Chairman.

"4 - Membership in the organization shall be by application to the secretary, on recommendation of the Membership Committee and approval of the Executive Committee.

"5 - These By-Laws may be amended by a majority vote at any annual, semi-annual or called meeting on five days notice."

IV. ACTIONS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT PROGRAMS

The following printed material was received through the mails by SA EVERETT in envelopes postmarked "Holly Ridge" or Winona, Mississippi, subsequent to a letter from PATTERSON to SA EVERETT enclosing similar articles prior to the organization of the First Citizens Council wherewith he furnished similar material. The dates indicated the date the material was received:

"October 18, 1954

"There are those who say 'Segregation is immoral, unchristian, and unAmerican'. The 'Great Emancipator' himself believed in segregation.

"Abraham Lincoln said in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, on June 26, 1857: 'I think the authors of the Declaration of Independence intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects.'

"Abraham Lincoln said in a speech at Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, 1858, 'I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgement will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.'

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" Abraham Lincoln said in a speech at Charleston, Illinois, on September 18, 1858, 'I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office.'

"Abraham Lincoln said on July 17, 1858 in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, 'What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races'.

"In 1862, acting on the suggestion of President Lincoln, who wanted to send the Negroes out of the United States, Congress appropriated \$600,000 for this purpose. The first ship load was sent to Ile de Vache in Haiti. The colony soon failed, and Lincoln had to send another ship to bring back survivors.

"George Washington, 'The father of our country' was a slaveowner.

"The great Supreme Courts of Judges, prior to the 'New Deal' declared segregation constitutional. Were all these great patriots unamerican, immoral, and unchristian?

"Benjamin Disraeli, Britain's great Prime Minister said, 'No man will treat with indifference the principal of race. It is the key of history.'

"The following are Bible verses supporting separation of the races:

"Genesis 1.

" 11. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth; and it was so.

" 24. And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth after his kind; and it was so.

" 25. And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind; and God saw that it was good. "

"Genesis 6.

" 19. And of every living thing of all flesh two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female.

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" 20. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. "

"Genesis 7.

" 14. They, and every beast after his kind and all the cattle after their kind and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort. "

"Numbers 36.

" 5. And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the Lord, saying, the tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well. "

" 6. This is the thing which the Lord doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad saying, Let them marry to whom they think best, only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry. "

"Jeremiah 13.

" 23. Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? "

" Are we to destroy the ancient landmarks of our ancestors because the Communists and left-wingers hate segregation? Maybe the Communists know that "Integration" will create a cancer of racial friction that will gnaw constantly at our national unity. "

" Our nation was built on the inequality of man. Our founding fathers wrested this land from the Indian who wasn't equal to the task of holding it. Our ancestors developed our country by each man rising to whatever height his capability, courage, aptitude and Dame Fortune allowed him. For two hundred years of war, pestilence, and depression our segregated armies and societies have held and strenghtened our nation. Are we now to experiment with the same old question that tore our nation apart in 1865 at a time when the Communists may be crouching to spring at our throats? "

"December 3, 1954

"WHY SHOULD THE AMENDMENT TO ABOLISH
PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO PREVENT INTEGRATION BE PASSED

"There is a chance that through lack of understanding and interest

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"on the part of the people of Mississippi this amendment might fail to pass. This amendment does not abolish our schools. In fact its sole intention is to save our schools.

"We believe that the immediate effect of enforced integration in the public schools of Mississippi would bring disaster to both races. The differences in folkways between the two races are too great. The Mississippi public will not support with their taxation integrated schools nor will they allow their children to attend them. The Mississippi Legislature will not make appropriations to carry them on. In other words, if compliance to the Supreme Court decision is attempted the U. S. Supreme Court itself will have abolished our public schools in Mississippi.

"Since the immediate effect of enforced integration would mean death to our public schools, we endorse the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State of Mississippi which would give to the State Legislature or to individual communities the right to an alternative in setting up private schools as a last resort. We believe that this may ward off attempted integration in the first place and give one last remedy if the Federal Government tries to force compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

"We pledge ourselves to support the proposed amendment in our respective communities and to use every other means in a local level to bring about understanding and cooperation between the races to the end that we may have voluntary acceptance of separate schools of separate schools for both races.

"It is the duty of every group, organization, and individual in Mississippi who has the interest of the children of his State at heart to see that this amendment is passed.

"This should be copied and widely distributed by your Citizens Council

"WHY THE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI SHOULD VOTE FOR THE SCHOOL AMENDMENT DEC. 21ST"

"1. It does not abolish schools. It is offered for the sole purpose of saving our schools and keeping white schools white and Negro schools Negro.

"2. It will show our opposition that the people of Mississippi are not going to be integrated and will stand united in this crisis.

"3. It makes possible a plan for state supported private schools for the average citizen of Mississippi who would be unable to

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"provide for his childrens' education otherwise.

"4. Our sister states of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia have passed similar amendments, showing the peoples' determination to educate their own children.

"5. Who would you rather trust your school system to? Your own elected Mississippi Legislature on the politically appointed U. S. Supreme Court in Washington?

"6. Here's the starting line-up on this amendment. Read it carefully before you decide which side you are on.

FOR

AGAINST

Mississippi Senate - 46 - 3

Rep. JOEL BLASS of Stone County

Mississippi House of Representatives 116 to 24

Senator George Owen of Pontotoc

Mississippi Education Association

HODDING CARTER, Editor of Washington County.

Governor Hugh White
Lt. Governor CARROLL GARTIN
Speaker WALTER SILLERS
Senator JIM EASTLAND
Senator JOHN STENNIS
Attorney General J. P. COLEMAN
Former Governor FIELDING WRIGHT
TOM ABERNETHY
JAMIE WHITTEN
JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
BILL CARPENTER
ARTHUR WINSTEAD

He was also against raising voter qualifications. He has championed inter-racial baseball in Greenville. October 1st, 1954, Memphis Press-Scimitar quotes as follows, 'The Supreme Court's mandate for unsegregated public schools can be achieved in the South only by a gradual approach.' Hodding Carter

Northern A. F. of L. Leaders
Northern C. I. O. leaders. The CIO contributed \$75,000 to the NAACP this year.

"These facts might be reproduced and mailed to every registered voter in every county in Mississippi. The various Civic Clubs and patriotic organizations could present them at their meetings. "

"MISSISSIPPI'S SCHOOL PROGRAM
"Twenty-Three Questions and Answers"

"1. Q. Will the amendment, if adopted, abolish public schools in Mississippi.

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" A. No. The voters are not asked to vote December 21st on the abolition of the public schools. So far as known no one presently favors such a course.

"2. Q. What are the purposes of the amendment?

" A. 1. To enable the Legislature to continue authorizing the establishment, support, maintenance, and operation of the public schools of this state. In view of the conflict between the provisions of the Constitution of Mississippi relative to segregated schools and the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, it is doubtful that the Legislature can make any appropriation for the public schools or enact other legislation without violating the provisions of the Constitution of this state or the May 17th decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. This conflict will continue until the U. S. Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of Section 207 of the Mississippi Constitution which is the section that specifically provides that separate schools for the races shall be maintained, unless the proposed amendment 213-B is adopted.

2. To confer upon the Legislature the power to abolish the public school by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting. By a majority vote of the Legislature, counties and school districts may be authorized to abolish their public schools. Legislators have pointed out that such a course may become necessary at some future date in order to provide financial assistance for all educable children. The public schools would be abolished only as a last resort, to prevent integration.

"3. Q. Recourse to what measures for the maintenance of segregation will probably be used before a legislative vote on abolition?

"A. 1. Continuance of segregation under Section 213-B of the Mississippi Constitution if it is adopted.
2. The assignment of pupils
3. Gerrymandering of school districts.
4. Application of military or police power.
5. Other applicable statutes.
6. New statutes.

"4. Q. How many years would be required to exhaust all the methods of approach in question three?

" A. An estimated 10 to 20 years, probably longer. It is hoped that by that time a permanent solution will have been found.

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"5. Q. Why not wait ten or twenty years or until all other methods of preserving segregation have failed before conferring upon the Legislature the power to abolish the public schools?

- " A. 1. Adoption of the amendment December 21st will serve notice that the people of Mississippi intend to maintain segregation at all cost. Negro leaders participated in the formation (through Mississippi Citizens Councils on Education) of the present school program often described as the finest in the history of Mississippi. While a large number of Negro leaders have since repudiated the separate but equal philosophy of school operation, it is believed that, by and large, Negroes want equal advantages for their children under a segregated, tax-supported plan.
2. It will be a warning to alien organizations that we intend to preserve our way of life.
3. Conceivably, it would crystalize public opinion in some states to a point where it would probably result in a more liberal high court interpretation of its May 17th decision.
4. It will have some weight in the preparation, adoption and promotion of the platforms of political parties. Passage of the amendment will provide the best possible assurance of a continued and improved segregated public school system to the citizens who are being called upon to pay for a \$120,000,000.00 school building program.

"6. Q. What are the main provisions of the Mississippi Constitution relating to public schools?

- " A. 1. A uniform system of free public schools by taxation or otherwise for all children 6 to 21 years of age. (Article 8, Section 201).
2. It guarantees at least four months' school term. (Article 8, Section 205).
3. Separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races. (Article 8, Section 207).

"7. Q. What constitutional provisions guarantee a continuation of the present system of public schools?

- " A. As a practical matter, by failing to provide revenue, 2/5 plus one of the Senators or House members present and voting could nullify the present school program. By refusal to vote for school appropriations, 25 Senators or 71 House members could sound the 'death knell' to schools.

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"8. Q. What is the outlook for public schools in the event the amendment is passed December 21st?

" A. Favorable. Legislative leaders have committed themselves to continue segregated tax-supported schools through the minimum education plan and the inauguration of a school building program. A special session designed to accomplish these purposes is tentatively scheduled for January, 1955.

"9. Q. Is the May 17th decision in keeping with the American way of life?

" A. No. The U. S. Supreme Court's Action is an 'interference in States Rights.' It is legislation through decree instead of through Congress. In the May 17, 1954 decision, The U. S. Supreme Court overruled at least 5 of its own previous decisions, 13 decisions of lower courts, and 59 decisions of State Supreme Courts. Its decision was not based on a single precedent of previous decisions. The decision struck down the Constitutions of 17 States relative to separate schools for the races and further struck down the statutes of 21 States. The decision of the high court was based on 7 works in the fields of sociology and psychology.

"10. Q. Is there a satisfactory plan for separate schools?

" A. Yes. The answer to the racial problem is a continuance of segregated tax-supported school through increased support for the minimum foundation program and the immediate inauguration of a building program.

"11. Q. Does the Legislature have sufficient authority to deal with public school segregation?

" A. No, not as the Constitution is presently written. Adoption of the amendment December 21st is necessary to give the Legislature flexibility to meet whatever situation may arise.

" 12.Q. Has a workable plan for private schools been offered?

" A. No. A good 'quarterback' cannot name the play he will use in a game ten years hence. Many educational, political and legal leaders think the details of the 'private school' program must be worked out, if and when needed, in the light of conditions at that time - including intervening Supreme Court decisions.

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"13. Q. Isn't it asking a great deal of the proponents of a strong public school system to vote to authorize the Legislature to abolish this system which has been more than 100 years in the making?

" A. Yes and No! No one is voting to abolish the public schools! Some term the December 21st vote as a vote of confidence and faith in our ability to solve our problem if and when all other measures have failed. WE MUST HAVE FAITH.

"14. Q. Since integration has been taking place on the college level for many years, does it follow that there will be integration on the elementary and high school levels?

" A. No. Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, Georgia and South Carolina have not admitted Negroes to white colleges on any level.

"15. Q. Is there any guarantee that the Court will uphold a system of private schools?

" A. No one can predict a court decision. The establishment of a system of private schools would tend to invalidate the effect of enforced racial integration.

"16. Q. If the public schools should be abolished, would not the poorer counties and school districts suffer a much greater loss than the richer political subdivisions?

" A. No. Better school practices throughout the country require that the 'money follow the child'. This is the fairest, all-around method of financing schools. It can be used under either a public or a private system. The same Legislators will vote the distribution.

"17. Q. In the event of abolition, is there danger that the federal government might set up a federal system of schools?

A. Such is not likely to occur. It would require a favorable vote of both houses of the National Congress. Thus far, Congress has not voted on the segregation issue - not even for the District of Columbia, which Congress governs. Our Southern Congressmen have had the support of many from Northern, Eastern, and Western states in preventing a vote on this matter.

"18. Q. WHAT IS CONSIDERED THE BEST MEANS OF CONTINUING SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

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"A. A STATEWIDE SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAM WHICH WOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE FACILITIES.

"19. Q. What would be the cost of an adequate school building program?

A. The most recently completed study indicates that a program for the equalization of building facilities will cost approximately \$120,000,000.00, figured at \$7.50 per square foot.

"20. Q. Is there any assurance that such a building program can be provided? Will the proponents of the amendment support a building program?

" A. Yes. Proponents of the amendment, including finance leaders of both Houses have committed themselves to adequate buildings for Negroes and whites. They are anxious to maintain segregation. They believe a building program is necessary. WE MUST HAVE FAITH.

" 21.Q. Has the Legal Educational Advisory Committee taken a position regarding an adequate building program?

" A. Yes! By unanimous vote, on October 12, the Legal Educational Advisory Committee approved a recommended building program based on Senate Bill 1204. (See copy of report attached).

"22. Q. In case abolition is eventually necessary, what will happen to vocational education and the school lunch program?

" A. If Mississippi's legal talent finds a successful method for maintaining segregation within the limits of the U. S. Supreme Court's decision, that same legal talent will be competent to find a way for the continued preservation of vocational education and the school lunch program.

"23. Q. Can retirement benefits for teachers, free textbooks and school transportation be continued under a private school system?

" A. Yes. If private schools should be operated on a non-profit basis, teachers would be covered by Social Security. The Legislature can continue retirement benefits, free textbooks and transportation.

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"December 3, 1954

"Assn. of Citizens Councils of Mississippi
Indianola, Mississippi
October 15, 1954

"Dear Sir:

"Our forefathers solved our racial problems by the simple, time honored and proven expedient called 'segregation,' which resulted in peace and tranquillity here in our state for sixty odd years. Now, however, the shadow of racial integration hangs over Mississippi with its consequential hatred, chaos and friction. It is not inevitable and there is something we can do about it as individuals. If we fail, which we shall not, it would be only because of our own complacency and apathy.

"On November 2, 1954 there is an amendment being presented to the citizens by our alert, far sighted legislature to raise the qualifications for voters in Mississippi. The stand taken by the voters of Mississippi on this amendment might indicate the sentiment of Mississippians to those who are watching.

"We have only two weeks to alert our people to the need of passing this amendment. This is the most immediate and urgent issue we have. Each Citizens Council should reproduce the enclosed copy of the amendment with explanation and mail to every white qualified voter in your county. Your Council should have this amendment read and explained at every civic meeting and public gathering held for the next two weeks. There are numerous other means of reaching voters that each council can employ in their respective areas.

"The following counties do not as yet have active Citizens Councils. We urge all citizen and civic groups in these counties to aid the passage of this amendment. Council members who have friends or influence in these counties should help implement the passage of this amendment in any way possible:

"Adams	Coahoma	Harrison	Lawrence	Pontotoc	Tunica
Alcorn	Copiah	Hinds	Lee	Prentiss	Union
Amite	Covington	Itawamba	Marion	Quitman	Warren
Attala	DeSoto	Jackson	Marshall	Rankin	Wayne
Benton	Forrest	Jasper	Monroe	Simpson	Webster
Calhoun	Franklin	Jefferson	Newton	Smith	Wilkinson
Chickasaw	George	Jones	Oktibbeha	Stone	Winston
Choctaw	Greene	Lafayette	Pearl River	Tate	Yalobusha
Claiborne	Grenada	Lamar	Perry	Tippah	
Clay	Hancock	Lauderdale	Pike	Tishomingo	

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"We southerners must learn that the politicians who run our federal government and are usurping our States Rights one by one keep a very sensitive ear tuned to the ballot box. We must use and unite our ballot that the squeak of certain insidious minority pressure groups will be drowned out by our mighty roar.

/s/ Robert B. Patterson
Robert B. Patterson
Secretary
Assn. of Citizens Councils of
Mississippi "

"October 15, 1954

"Dear Friend:

"Last Tuesday a meeting was held in Winona, Mississippi, to consolidate into a State organization the various Citizens Council Groups over the State of Mississippi. At this meeting twenty-one counties were represented, but it is imperative that all of the eighty-two counties of the State organize. Here in the South we face a dark and bitter moment. Our way of life and our civilization are threatened with destruction. The traditions, the conventions, the taboos and the basic concept of a people represent the storehouse of their social usages, and if you destroy this you have destroyed their culture and their civilization.

"As dark and as bitter as the hour may seem there is yet time to save our heritage for our children and our grandchildren. Our foreparents faced an even darker moment. There was a day when our fair land was garrisoned with Yankee and Negro troops and our own Southern people were disfranchised. At that time our State government had a Negro Superintendent of Education, and Negro Speaker of the House, and there were Negro Sheriffs scattered all over the State of Mississippi.

"Here was legal integration and we had lost our election machinery, but back in the dark and bitter days of reconstruction, we had as foreparents real men who had the courage to stand with their backs to the wall and fight for the things they cherished and believed in. Had our foreparents been less, we of the South would today be a mongrel and mulatto race, and if we fail to meet the challenge of this hour our descendants will mingle and mate with the Negro race.

"The Citizens Council is an organization designed to alert and mobilize public opinion and to accomplish our aims and objec-

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"tives in a legal and orderly manner. In the counties where we have been organized, our lawyers, our bankers and our business men have been the leaders in this organization. If our highest type of citizenship fails to supply a plan to maintain segregation and the integrity of the white race, then the wrong crowd will supply the leadership and there will be violence and bloodshed.

"We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure.

"When the final decree of the Supreme Court is written the real pressure in the matter of segregation will begin. ~~Walter White~~, Negro leader for the Society for Advancement for Colored People will speak in Jackson early in November. White would not have dared do this ten years ago, but our complacency has shown the Negro that aggressiveness might pay off. You will recall that last spring the attitude of the Negroes of Mississippi completely changed when the Supreme Court decision was made and at the meeting held in Governor White's office these Negro leaders demanded a surrender. The Constitutional Amendment to abolish public schools and the organization of Citizens Councils have dampened the ardor of these Negro leaders, and all of this goes to prove that a firm stand is what is needed. Unless we organize, the Negro leaders will continue to exert pressure until violence breaks out and then regardless of how you feel, you will be drawn into the conflict for the issue will then be White against Black.

"In my opinion, it is the duty of the leadership in each community to see that peace and order is preserved and violence averted. The best means of doing these things is to organize a Citizens Council and if you need assistance in doing this, I will come, or send at our own expense, people to assist you.

"Trusting that I will hear from you in the near future, I am,

Sincerely,

/s/ Fred Jones ✓
Fred Jones

Member of the Board of Supervisors
Sunflower County, District 1"

"This is the most urgent business at hand, to see that the following amendment is adopted. The time is short. Each citizens council should be sure that all voters in their community thoroughly understand

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"this. It should be copied, distributed and explained at Council meetings and at every Civic club or organization in your community.

"FACTS ABOUT THE VOTER QUALIFICATION AMENDMENT TO BE VOTED ON IN THE GENERAL ELECTION OF TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1954.

"In the beginning we want to make it clear that this proposed amendment does not affect any person who was a qualified elector on or before January 1, 1954.

"The only educational qualification which our State Constitution now requires for voting is that the voter be able to read any section of the Constitution of this State, or, if unable to read it, that he be able to understand it when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation of it.

"Although education in Mississippi has greatly advanced since the adoption of the Constitution of 1890, yet, the qualifications to vote are the same as they were 64 years ago with the result that our qualifications are now among the lowest in the entire country.

"To advance the cause of good government in Mississippi, the Legislature at its regular 1954 session passed Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 13 to be voted on by the people at the general election to be held on Tuesday, November 2, 1954.

"The proposed amendment is as follows:

" Amend section 244 of the Constitution of 1890 of the State of Mississippi to read as follows:

" Section 244: Every elector shall, in addition to the foregoing qualifications be able to read and write any section of the Constitution of this State and give a reasonable interpretation thereof to the county registrar. He shall demonstrate to the county registrar a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

"The person applying to register shall make a sworn, written application for registration on a form to be prescribed by the state board of election commissioners, exhibiting therein the essential facts and qualifications necessary to show that he is entitled to register and vote, said application to be entirely written, dated, and signed by the applicant in the presence of the county registrar, without assistance or suggestion from any person or memorandum whatever; provided, however, that if the applicant is unable to write his application by reason of physical disability,

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"the same, upon his oath of such disability, shall be written at his unassisted dictation by the county registrar.

"Any new or additional qualifications herein imposed shall not be required of any person who was a duly registered and qualified elector of this state prior to January 1, 1954.

"There is no unusual or untried qualification in the above amendment.

"States that already have the 'read and write' clause in their constitutions or general laws are: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, and Oregon.

"As to the 'reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship' clause, it was said by Thomas Jefferson in his day that a citizen should not only have an understanding of his duties and responsibilities to his neighbor, but to his government as well. States now having such a clause are Alabama and Louisiana.

"The requirement of the 'sworn, written application' is contained in the Constitutions of Alabama, Louisiana, and Virginia.

"The above amendment was carefully studied by the Constitution Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives of Mississippi, and was passed by the Senate on three consecutive days by the following vote: 40 to 4; 41 to 3; and 38 to 3. It also passed the House of Representatives on three consecutive days by the following vote: 3 to 8; 91 to 11; and 91 to 9.

"It is believed that the best interest of our State requires the approval of the above amendment on November 2nd, and it is hoped that every person voting in the election will be sure to vote on this amendment, for failure to vote on it will amount to a vote against the amendment."

December 21, 1954

" NEWS BULLETIN

"From Negro Newspaper 'Pittsburg Courier', December 4, 1954

"Intense resentment toward Dr. Norman Vincent Peale of LOOK Magazine for advising a Negro girl against marrying a white boy was expressed here by a cross-section of citizens who placed the eminent clergyman in the role of an intruder.

"The Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, rector, St. Phillip PE Church: America is a democracy. It is not only a political democracy, but it is

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"the most eminent social democracy in the world so far as its own stated principles and ideals go. Social democracy either begins with marriage or it necessarily includes marriage in its ideals and principles.

"It is not possible to have people of different race, nationalities and religious living together and working together and playing together and bar them from marrying.

"We have a law in several states that gives them equal opportunity to work together and to live together. We now have a national law that requires that they get their education together. These steps are the result of a long process and they were balked for a long time.

"Dr. Peale and many a Christian minister will, in his utterances, uphold the reaction of American democracy in the area of intermarriage but they know in their hearts that it is wrong to do so and that they will never be able to stem the tide that has already begun to flow freely.

"Intermarriage is as necessarily Christian as interfaith and interracial education. We will have desegregation in that area of life and it has already begun to move heavily.

"People will always tend to marry whom they love.

"This is "the positive thinking" that America must really do."

- W -

"MISSISSIPPI STATE STATISTICS

56,724 babies were born in Mississippi in 1953
28,045 of that number were white
28,679 were negroes
7,337 were born out of wedlock or illegitimate
7,070 of the negroes were born out of wedlock
267 of the whites were born out of wedlock.

"One out of every 105 white births were illegitimate or less than 1%. 24.7% of the negro births were illegitimate, which means that 247 out of every 1000 negro births were born out of wedlock. This is proof of the well known fact that our negroes as a race make a mockery of the white man's holy institution of matrimony. How would integration affect the moral standards of our white children?

-W-

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"THE VOICE FROM THE GRAVE"

"If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones.

"Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power.

"But if the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone.

"The maintenance of American civilization would be as impossible for a negroid America as would the redemption and restoration of the white man's blood which had been mixed with that of the Negro."

-W-

"THE CITIZENS COUNCIL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM"

"We must see that our people know the facts about integration and the racial question. Our primary mediums of education are our schools, our churches, our newspapers, our radios, our televisions sets, and, of course, our associates. Let's analyze these mediums. What do our schools teach us about racial integrity or the perils of a person marrying outside of his race? There are teachers right here in Mississippi that say segregation is immoral, unchristian and unamerican. Next our churches. Examine some of your Sunday School literature and your church resolutions and see if they coincide with what you want your child taught.

"What about our newspapers? We need to read the negro press, the syndicated white press will not mention race, creed or color or in any way print anything that will reflect against the negro race even if it is the truth. 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.' (John 8:32). The white press for white consumption handles the race question with kid gloves and will not mention the word negro. The Northern negro press on the other hand is vehement in its denunciation of the white race and specializes in stirring up hatred and resentment among negroes all over the country. The white man is lulled to sleep by the pacifists, while the negro is being spurred to action by the agitators.

"Examine the enclosed facts from State Prisons from all over our land. What newspaper would print these true facts? No northern newspaper would dare! Have you ever heard of a Northern negro

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"assaulting a white woman? No, because his race is never mentioned, but look at these prison statistics. We cannot learn of the facts of integration from the Syndicated white press.

"What about radio? The noise we hear is mostly negro Bebop, Jazz, Blues, Mambo or similar racket.

"What about television or as a preacher friend of ours says 'Hellelevision.' Do you consider the programs and conclusions healthful for your children's minds. They see among other things white men hugging Eartha Kitt and Pearl Bailey or some other form of interracial brainwash.

"Now the associates of our children. The Supreme Court says we in Mississippi must integrate our sons and daughters with the negroes. One of four negro children in Mississippi is illegitimate. What effect would these intimate associations have on our white children?

"The Citizens Council will give the people the facts through their Information and Educational Committees. An interested, informed public will very quickly find out what is being taught their children in their churches and schools, and take the necessary action. They will vote according to the best interests of our state.

"The solution is simple. When our people all find out the truth about this diabolical plot to integrate us the problem will disintegrate. We must show how the mongrelizer operates and how he comes in under the guise of christianity, brotherhood and democracy. "

- W -

"Every American carries in his pocket the following slogan unknowingly, NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM, which means 'New Order Of The Ages.' It appears on the green side under the Pyramid on every one dollar bill and has since 1935. 'What new order and who authorized it?' What's the matter with the old order? "

The following pamphlet was furnished December 9, 1954, by [redacted] Dumas, Mississippi, as having been sent to him by the Association:

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"WHAT IS THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL?"

"The Citizens Council is the modern version of the old-time town meeting called to meet any crisis by expressing the will of the

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"people. The right to peaceably assemble to petition for a redress of our grievances is guaranteed in the first one of our Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States of America. The only reliable prophet for the future is the past, and history proves that the Supreme Power in the government of men has always been Public Sentiment. The Citizens Council simply provides the machinery for mobilizing, concerting and expressing public opinion.

"Our councils are independent groups located within the towns and counties of our state. The local officers are chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer. Each council has four basic committees, including:

"1. Information and Education - This committee seeks information pertaining to racial problems from all over our nation. It presents to the people within its community the truth about the racial question, thereby nullifying the propaganda from alien influences and pressure groups. Its job is to convince all of our people of the advantages of segregation and the dangers of integration.

"2. Political and Elections - This committee studies candidates for local and state elections and presents their qualifications to the voters. It attempts to get candidates to voice their opinion on vital subjects prior to election. It can reach each voter personally to present the truth on all matters to the people. It is our belief that an interested, informed people who vote intelligently is the only means we have of perpetuating our constitutional democracy.

"3. Membership and Finance - This committee enlists all patriotic white citizens for membership, thus assuring your local organization of the support of public opinion and also financial means with which to operate. Thus far, nearly all of the local organizations have set their annual dues at \$5.00 per member. Every white Southerner should be proud to pay this amount in our battle for State's Rights and the individual right to educate his children with children of his own kind. It is a fundamental right for every American to have pride in his race and to avoid conditions that might foster and promote intermarriage of his children with other races.

"4. Legal Advisory - This committee provides the legal knowledge that will aid us to achieve our aims by constitutional lawful means. If the way of life of forty million people supported by over a century of precedence and practice can be upset legally by

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"nine political appointees, surely legal steps can be taken by a determined majority to correct this grievance. It anticipates moves by agitators and devises legal means for the solution of any racial problems that might arise locally.

"WHY DOES YOUR COMMUNITY NEED A CITIZENS COUNCIL?"

"Maybe your community has had no racial problems! This may be true; however, you may not have a fire, yet you maintain a fire department. You can depend on one thing: The NAACP (National Association for the Agitation of Colored People), aided by alien influences, bloc vote seeking politicians and left-wing do-gooders, will see that you have a problem in the near future.

"The Citizens Council is the South's answer to the mongrelizers. We will not be integrated! We are proud of our white blood and our white heritage of sixty centuries.

"People with racial pride are attacked by the NAACP and its affiliates as being bigoted, prejudiced, biased, immoral, un-American, etc. These hysterical smear words are used in lieu of any logical reason why a person can no longer be loyal to his white blood, his church, his state, and his nation above all else.

"In other words, the right to esprit de corps which has won every war we have fought is no longer in style. The idea now is seemingly to pride ourselves in the fact that everybody in the world should be made equal by law, regardless of aptitude or heritage. The 'have nots' must share equally with the 'have got's' in this new world order.

"If we are bigoted, prejudiced, un-American, etc., so were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and our other illustrious forebears who believed in segregation. We choose the old paths of our founding fathers and refuse to destroy their ancient landmarks to appease anyone, even the internationalists. This integration scheme ties right in with the new, one world, one creed, one race philosophy fostered by the ultra-idealists and international left-wingers.

"The fate of our great nation may well rest in the hands of the Southern white people today. If we submit to this unconstitutional, judge-made integration law, the malignant powers of atheism, communism and mongrelization will surely follow, not only in our Southland but throughout our nation. To falter would be tragic; to fail would be fatal. The white people of the South will again stand fast and preserve an unsullied race as our forefathers did eighty years ago. We will not be integrated,

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"either suddenly or gradually.

"Mississippi is considered a poor state in cash values. Yet we have only one known communist, the best record of any state in the union. This year a Mississippi boy was elected President of Boy's Nation and a Mississippi girl was elected President of Girl's Nation at the national convention in Washington. Our youth, then, of both races is our wealth and our proven defense against the sinister forces that would destroy our nation.

"We are certainly not ashamed of our traditions, our conservative beliefs, nor our segregated way of life.

**"HOW WILL THE CITIZENS COUNCILS ROLL BACK THE
DARK CLOUD OF INTEGRATION?"**

"By organizing the white Americans who have pride in their white race and forethought for their posterity, by mobilizing public opinion.

"Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, said, 'All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.'

"We must organize every town and county in our state and then every state in the South. Forty million white Southerners, or a fraction thereof, can be a power in this nation if properly organized and certainly need not fear the NAACP, with only 200,000 members.

"We need every patriotic white Southerner, rich or poor, high or low, who is proud of being a white American. It is indeed sickening to hear some of our brain-washed educated people whine, 'It's inevitable. There's nothing we can do. We have lost'. Our southland by every material line of reasoning should already be a land of mulattoes. Eighty years ago our unconquerable ancestors were beaten, in poverty and degradation, unable to vote and under the heel of negro occupation troops. All they had was their undying courage and faith that the Almighty helps those who help themselves. Are we less than they? We are the same blood; white blood that was kept pure for you for 6,000 years by white men.

"Our situation is not as hopeless as theirs, but just as insidious and deadly to our posterity if you and I do nothing. What decision are you going to make for those baby children at

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"home?"

"In conclusion, here are some facts: At this time (November, 1954) there are one hundred and ten towns in Mississippi that now have Citizens Councils, including over 25,000 white male members and penetrating 33 counties. Our sister states, Alabama and Georgia, have formed councils and they are now spreading. A state Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi has been formed, with headquarters at Winona, Mississippi. Our councils have helped pass a vital amendment to our State Constitution that the people of Mississippi failed to pass only two years ago. Racial tensions have been eased and local problems solved in counties that have active Citizens Councils.

"The highest type of leadership has been provided in each community where councils have been formed. We intend to prevent integration legally and thus prevent violence, friction and racial hatred. We intend to carry on the peaceful relations we have had with our colored citizens, to help them to help themselves and to try to help instill in them a sense of pride in their race as we have in ours.

"If you are interested in forming a Citizens Council in your community, contact our state headquarters at Winona or any Citizens Council from your adjoining county and we will be glad to assist you. Then, in turn, you may help your adjoining county organize.

"Either we will all stay white together or we will be integrated county by county and state by state. Are you doing your part? There is nothing more important at this time!

"Published by the ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS

Winona, Miss.

(Headquarters)

The following pamphlets allegedly mailed by the Association were furnished by on December 17, 1954:

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"NEWS BULLETIN

"President Eisenhower, after the Supreme Court's 'Black Monday' decision, stated that he wanted Washington, D. C., to become an example of rapid integration. Now he states that integration

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"should be 'gradual.' Maybe he has heard 'rumblings of thunder' from the South. Mr. President, our children are not going to be integrated, either suddenly or gradually!

"In Attorney General Brownell's recent brief to the Supreme Court about implementing the 'Black Monday' decision he states: 'Recent "disturbances" in West Virginia, Delaware and Ohio are "isolated incidents", incited by a small number of "reckless" and "irresponsible" individuals and groups'.

"This is the typical prejudiced attitude of the Integrators and the Northern press and radio. Here is how they would probably have reported other 'isolated incidents' by 'irresponsible groups and individuals' that occurred a few years ago.

"1. 'Frivolous talk of the dumping of cargo from one of His Majesty's Tea ships must be accounted as of no significance. The spectacle of a band of uncouth vandals, many of them disguised, need not detain us for long. Let us rather remember the many uneventful landings of similar cargoes in American ports and, in fact, won't you join me as we look into the many American homes where tea is being sipped graciously by people of good sense, good breeding and sound judgment, who realize that the trifling tax which His Majesty must collect is all too little for the pleasurable stimulation enjoyed by us all each day.' So much for the Boston Tea Party.

"2. As for the 'Shot Heard Round the World,' 'Massachusetts is calm tonight, the minor disturbance of the morning all but forgotten. After all, we have been fortunate in the many years of protection afforded us by our friends, the British, protection which, by the way, we shall be needing for many years to come in spite of the rash and ill considered remarks of some among us who want to go it alone. To be constructive we ought to remember the many provincial ruffians and hot-heads who have NOT been shot by our friends, the British, although they obviously so richly deserved it.' So much for the Battle of Lexington.

"3. Now, for the story of Paul Revere's Ride. 'We have scant time to waste on the ridiculous incident of last night. Certainly a silversmith who goes night-riding over village roads, would be better engaged in chasing bowls unless perhaps he has been chasing the wrong kind of bowl.' (Just a shadow of a genteel snicker.) 'And in Old North Church some low prankster was waving a lantern. One cannot but entertain the suspicion that there was some connection between these two revolting performances. They may even have been the result of connivance. Surely the good and

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"Sober men of Boston who stay home nights and in so many ways show their loyalty to the Crown are more deserving of our attention than this loutish Revere. I venture to predict that our good friends in Germany, especially in the Duchy of Hesse will have to come over here and show these colonial bumpkins some manners! "

"In other words, according to Mr. Brownell, any one that dares to disagree with the Supreme Court and wishes to avoid conditions that might foster and promote intermarriage between his children and children of other races is an 'irresponsible individual.'

"In Washington, D. C., in eighteen schools where integration was announced months in advance, white enrollment dropped 24.6 per cent. One school that became 60 per cent negro lost over half of its white pupils. Another, with 69.1 per cent of its people now colored, lost 45.3 per cent of its white pupils. A third, which now has 44.1 per cent negro enrollment reported a 44.6 per cent decline in white enrollment. On the other hand, a school that so far has been assigned no negro pupils reported that its white enrollment increased 41 per cent. All other schools that were not integrated showed gains instead of losses in white enrollment. (From U. S. News and World Report, page 52, November 12, 1954).

"Mr. Brownell should censure all these 'irresponsible' people in Washington who are sending their children away to white schools. What about the 'irresponsible' people that are not financially able to send their children away, Mr. Brownell. Maybe you can crush their pride in being White Americans, legally.

"FROM THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, DATED NOVEMBER 24, 1954

"FBI undercover agent identified three state communist leader at hearing: 'With a glance at the principal Federal witness, Junius Irving Scales agreed without argument yesterday to return to North Carolina and face charges he taught the destruction and overthrow of the United States government as a three state communist party chief. On hand to make the identification was Ralph C. Clontz, Jr., 32 year old Charlotte, N. C., Attorney and former undercover agent for the FBI.'

"Scales was also responsible in part, for my success in penetrating a branch of 'The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York,' Mr. Clontz said.

"Mr. Clontz, who eventually became a member of the Board of Directors of NAACP, Nassau Branch, said he had instructions to infil-

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"trate the organization and use it to further the communist cause."

"On Monday, November 29, 1954, a Citizens Council meeting was held in Selma, Alabama, with 1200 men present. Four counties have already been organized and there were representatives from eight additional counties at this meeting.

"Our Freedom to educate our children as we see fit is being tampered with.

"'They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.' - Benjamin Franklin.

'If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that, if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too.' - W. Somerset Maugham.

'You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.' - Abraham Lincoln.

'All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.' - Edmund Burke.

'God grants liberty only to them who love it and are ever ready to guard and defend it.' - Daniel Webster.

'I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.' - Abraham Lincoln's speech at Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, 1858.

'What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races.' - Abraham Lincoln. "

"WHY WE SHOULD VOTE FOR THE SCHOOL AMENDMENT
DECEMBER 21, 1954

"1. It does not abolish schools. It is offered for the sole purpose of saving our schools by keeping white schools white and negro schools negro.

"2. It will show our opposition that the people of Mississippi are not going to be integrated and will stand united in this crisis.

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"3. It makes possible a plan for state supported private schools for the average citizen of Mississippi who would be unable to provide for his children's education otherwise.

"4. Our sister states of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia have passed similar amendments, showing the peoples' determination to educate their own children.

"5. Who would you rather trust your school system to? Your own elected Mississippi Legislature or the politically appointed U. S. Supreme Court in Washington?

6. The immediate effect of enforced integration would mean death to our public schools. If compliance to the Supreme Court Decision is attempted the U. S. Supreme Court itself will have abolished our schools in Mississippi for both races.

"7. Here's the lineup on the amendment. Which side are you on?

FOR

AGAINST

Mississippi Senate - 46 to 3
Miss. House of Representatives
116 - 24

Mississippi Education Association
Mississippi Farm Bureau
Governor Hugh White
Lt. Governor Carroll Gartin
Speaker Walter Sillers
Senator Jim Eastland
Senator John Stennis
Attorney General J.P. Coleman
Former Governor Fielding Wright
Congressman Tom Abernathy
Congressman Jamie Whitten
Congressman John Bell Williams
Congressman Frank Smith
Hon. Ross Barnett
Hon. Paul Johnson
Mary Cain

Rep. Joel Blass of Stone County
Sen. George Owen of Pontotoc

Hedding Carter, Editor of Greenville
Mrs. Alma Nickman, Hattiesburg
Oliver Emmerich, Editor of
McComb Mississippi NAACP
Northern A. F. of L. Leaders
Northern C.I.O. leaders. The
CIO contributed \$75,000 to the
NAACP this year.

These facts might be reproduced and mailed to every registered voter in every county in Mississippi. The various Civic Clubs and patriotic organizations could present them at their meetings. "

In addition, the following pamphlets were furnished by
[redacted] on December 17, 1954, listed below:

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"A Review of BLACK MONDAY" by Judge Tom P. Brady, of the Fourteenth Circuit Court District, Brookhaven, Mississippi, in an address made to the Indianela Citizens Council, October 28, 1954.

Pamphlet, "~~FREE AND FEARLESS~~" edited and published by ~~HARRY WILLIAM PYLE~~, "THE POLITICAL REPORTER", November, 1954 issue

Letter "TO ALL MISSISSIPPIANS", with heading "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Winona, Mississippi, December 8, 1954" signed: "For the Executive Committee, by Robert B. Patterson, Secretary, Citizens Council"

"Official Election Returns on the Amendment To Raise Voter Qualifications in Mississippi Comparison of 1952 Returns With 1954 Returns"

"News Bulletin No. 3 dated December 30, 1954"

Letter Addressed to:
Dumas, Mississippi", with letterhead of "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Winona, Mississippi," dated December 31, 1954 and signed "ROBERT B. PATTERSON".

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Copies of the above are being furnished the Bureau and New Orleans.

The November 2, 1954 issue of the Memphis World, a newspaper published at Memphis, Tennessee, prints the following quotations attributed by the Jackson, Mississippi Daily News to ROBERT B. PATTERSON: "This question of maintaining segregation is something we all ought to be serious about. Otherwise, things we value the most here in the South will be gone."

The paper further quotes PATTERSON as saying the Citizens Council is dedicated to the maintenance of "peace, good order and domestic tranquility." In addition, he is quoted as saying "Citizens Council members have the interest of the Negro at heart." A further quotation attributed to PATTERSON was: "'UP NORTH' 'We take care of them, feed them, educate them', he said. 'I have 35 Negro families here on my place. You can go out and talk to any of them and they'll tell you I'm the best friend they have. Had six of them go up north last year and stay several weeks and everyone of them came back and said they'd never leave the South again.'

"'Folks up there don't see why we don't integrate our schools.

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"They don't understand the pressure of numbers. If we integrated schools right here it would mean putting 20 white children into a classroom with 80 Negro children. That will never happen in Mississippi."

"Patterson was quoted by the paper as saying: 'The only way we can keep segregation is to keep public sentiment against it and to inform people of the facts.'"

The following article with a by-line of ~~ALEX WILSON~~, Jackson, Mississippi, appeared in the January 8, 1955 edition of the Tri-State Defender, a Memphis, Tennessee newspaper:

"HERE'S HOW CREDIT FREEZE OPERATES IN MISSISSIPPI

"It was several nights before Christmas while here and there throughout the troubled state hearts began to glow with joy in mounting anticipation of the celebration of the Nativity.

"A 30-year-old World War II veteran rolled and tossed in his bed in a modest little home on a Mississippi farm. Only a feeble flame of the joyous season approaching flickered in his heart. His mind was as storm-lashed waters of the sea.

"He is on the verge of losing all his worldly possessions to a prejudiced, fearful specimen of the deep South's white world - a specimen who would mouth 'Peace on earth and good will toward all men' on the one hand, and on the other pull every subtle and vicious trick that a cunning mind could conjure to keep the Negro from vaulting his segregated corral into the pasture of true democracy.

"The worried veteran is ~~Sylvester~~ ^{OR BOWENS} ~~Bowens~~, of Glendora, Miss., Tallahatchie County. Even before shouldering arms to defend this country from the enemy, Bowens had dreamed and hoped that some day he would own a farm of his own. He had a pretty good idea where he wanted his farm and how he would nurture the soil to reap rich harvests.

"The war ended. Ex-GI ~~G~~owens came home to live. Years passed. He sweated, scrimped and saved to make the down payment on the farm. "Finally, the day came when Bowens was able to reach an agreement with M. E. ~~Lowe~~, White, of Glendore, to purchase 49 acres of land for \$4,000. That was a happy day for Bowens. These thoughts coursed through the veteran's mind as he in tumult lay in bed. Bowen's achievement in itself is an indication of the veteran's citizenship caliber. As other loyal Negro American citizens living in the state, Bowens had other hopes of vital significance. He

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"wanted to be able to exercise his right to vote without reprisals from whites. And, he prayed that some day Mississippi children would be able to attend first class schools.

"In simple forthright terms, Bowens just shows evidence of being a plain, hard-working, good citizen - the kind of which a real democracy is built. When the Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision on May 17 invalidating segregation in public schools, he was one of the millions who thanked God.

"ECONOMIC FREEZES

"Mississippi made clear, he remembered, that it didn't like the decision. Soon Citizens Councils, an organization which may be likened to neo-Kluxism, began to mushroom in the state. The purpose of this insidious group is to bring economic pressure to bear on all Negroes in the state who seek to vote and who refuse to approve segregated schools.

"The 'freeze' is being effected by the foreclosing or threatening to foreclose on mortgages and loans obtained by Negroes from white lending agencies.

"In some towns members of the council are threatening to deprive Negroes of their jobs if they don't go along with voluntary school segregation.

"Bowens is one of the victims. M. E. Lowe has told him that unless he produces the balance due on the property, the mortgage will be foreclosed.

"Bowens says he owes a balance of \$1,400. However, as of last week, he had been unable to obtain a statement from Lowe.

"The veteran's case is just one of the hundreds who are feeling the octopian lash of the Citizens council in Mississippi.

"'COLORED ONLY'

"Equally as shocking for its cold-bloodedness is the case of AMZIE MOORE, an enterprising young man with business vision and know-how, who built a modern service station - served by Pan-Am on Highway 61, within the city limits of Cleveland, Miss. This man had a restaurant built in the station. Because of the fine way in which the food is prepared and served, white travelers patronize the business. City officials soon began to frown on this mixing of the races in the restaurant. They ordered Moore to put up a sign: 'For Colored Only.' Moore refused.

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"The Citizens Council went to work, in its top insidious form. Not long before Christmas, the station owner was notified by the Pan-Am distributor that henceforth he would have to pay cash in advance for all shipments of gasoline and oil.

"THE NEXT BLOW

"The next blow came from the local white bank, where MOORE had obtained funds to build his business. Despite the fact he had been promised a renewal on the loan when due, the bank officials notified him that he would have to clear the remaining indebtedness of \$6,000 by January 10 or lose the property.

"As in the case of Bowens, Moore is praying that help will come from some source.

"Very much disturbed about the 'Freeze' tactics of the Council is Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate, Jackson, Miss.

"Last week he said that 'advertising lineage is not what it was last year this time.' Greene stated he was going to stand by to give whatever help possible when the time comes.

"Over in Columbus, Miss., the Council has been harassing Dr. Emmett Stringer and family. He is a dentist and former president of the state NAACP.

"For years Dr. Stringer had been able to borrow money from the local Bank of Commerce. Recently, the bank made clear to the dentist that he would not be given any more financial assistance. Local whites learned of this development and began telephoning Dr. Stringer's mother in the dead of night, making such statements as 'Dr. Stringer has been killed. Do you have his body yet.'

"T. B. Johnson, undertaker, of Belzoni, Miss., and a member of the militant Regional Council of Negro Leadership, has felt the pressure of the Citizens council in his hometown.

"In line for the chairmanship of the local Negro Boy Scouts, he was told by white citizens, that if he accepted the post, no credit would be given him in the city. Further, whites of the Council warned him that if he didn't comply he might be run out of town. Unable to buck the pressure and threatened with the credit freeze, Johnson passed up the chairman-ship of the Boy Scouts.

"A brazen and ruthless tactic has been employed by Council mem-

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"bers in Indianola, Miss., to 'freeze' Dr. Clinton Battle out of patients. Whites have been cornering Negro patients and telling them that they will lose their jobs if they continue to consult the physician. Miss

"Why? Dr. Battle set a precedent in Sunflower county. He is reportedly the first of his race to register and vote there. As any loyal and devoted citizen anywhere will do, he attempted to get others of his race to exercise their franchise.

"No NEGRO VOTED

"The Council's strategy apparently had its effect, however, in that not one Negro appeared at the polls in the December election, when voters cast their ballots on the state amendment to abolish the public school system, if necessary, to maintain segregation.

"Christmas has come and gone and the New Year is here. With its coming looms hope and a chance for relief for such of the oppressed as Bowens, Moore and Dr. Battle.

"Last week the NAACP called on President Eisenhower to probe the Mississippi situation. Meanwhile a plan was mapped to have citizens throughout the nation deposit a million dollars in the Tri-State Bank of Memphis, which is to be made available to persecuted persons in Mississippi on a loan basis.

"Spearheading the move in cooperation with the Regional Council of Negro Leadership in Mississippi, the NAACP, Defender learned is to start the ball rolling by depositing \$20,000 in the bank for relief of the victims.

"The thaw can be put on the Citizens Council 'freeze' by depositing funds in the Memphis Tri-State Bank."

Under date of December 29, 1954, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Secretary, Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, directed the following letter to Mr. J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director, F. B. I., Washington, D. C., with a copy indicated for President Eisenhower:

"I see that the National Association for the Agitation of Colored People has asked that the Citizens Councils be investigated.

"After forty years of using every tactic, pressure, and scheme known to man in accomplishing their aims they set up a howl when they see public opinion turning against them. They have used among other things economic, political, and social pres-

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"sure, along with half-truths, misrepresentations, and outright lies.

"They specialize in stirring up hatred and resentment among the colored people towards the white man all over this country. They then pit states having 4% negro population against states having 45% negro population in the name of brotherhood and equality. Please note the enclosed prison statistics, which may be verified. This shows how much more successful they have been in the North than in the south.

"~~Channing H. Tobias~~ one of the Directors of the Field Foundation, Inc., has been affiliated with 20 organizations and publications which are cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General, House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. (See American Legion Report on the Field Foundation, Inc., 5-25-54, page 33).' This is the NAACP Board Chairman who wants our Councils investigated.

"Mississippi with nearly a million negroes has the highest per cent negro population of any state in the union, and they remain here through choice. The NAACP is succeeding in driving the white people out of Washington, D. C. We shall not be driven from our native state.

"We have nothing to hide, not even the fact that in Mississippi neither our white or colored citizens have any fear or respect for the vicious NAACP. The only crime we are guilty of has been complacency and apathy towards the sinister forces that would destroy our nation. "

The statistics mentioned in the above letter are not being copied.

The following pamphlet, being News Bulletin # 4, dated January 5, 1955, was submitted to the Memphis Office under date of January 10, 1955, by Dumas, Mississippi:

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"One of the local Citizens Councils has thought of an idea we feel should be passed on to all Councils for consideration.

"This local County Council is presenting copies of Judge Brady's Review of 'Black Monday' to all High School students in the county. The County Council is then offering a \$50 cash prize to the student who writes the best synopsis of the review.

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"The purpose, of course, is to create an interest and basic understanding of our great problem to our young people. They must be armed with facts to withstand the propaganda barrage of radio, television, moving pictures and the northern press. This is the cheapest, easiest, most effective educational program we have heard of. Maybe other councils would like to consider this or similar methods of nullifying left-wing propaganda.

- W -

"From U. S. News and World Report, December 17, 1954:

"The White House will use 33 billion dollars worth of the taxpayer's money to force race mixing in government contracts."

"If a contractor doesn't hire enough negroes or if he segregates them to the dissatisfaction of a Governmental interracial committee his contract can be broken. Is this economic pressure? If it is it must be considered legal or our government would not use such methods to enforce the will of the NAACP on White Americans.

- W -

"Under date of November 5, 1954, we have this from the Library of Congress, 'AN EXAMINATION OF THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1928 REVEALS A LARGE NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS. UNDER THE HEADING 'OPPRESSION OF THE NEGROES' DEMANDS ARE MADE FOR FULL RACIAL EQUALITY, ABOLITION OF ALL SEGREGATION LAWS AND LAWS FORBIDDING INTERMARRIAGE.' A few years after this platform was adopted a propaganda campaign sprang up to induce us to swallow this Communist policy. While this was going on the Russian Communists swallowed much of the world. Will we now swallow communist methods for enforcing this communist policy while the communists swallow large areas of the world where the resistance of the people has been destroyed by racial integration?"

- W -

On January 12, 1955, [redacted] further advised SA [redacted] as follows: *see pg 3*

[redacted] related when contacted by Agent [redacted] that a negro doctor whose surname is [redacted] and who resides at Indianola and who is a member of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, registered to vote in Sunflower County, Miss., and urged other negroes in

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the community to do likewise. He said shortly thereafter [redacted] was told by a number of his negro patients, mainly those living on plantations, that they were no longer able to seek his professional services. He said these instructions had been given by plantation owners who are members of the local Citizens Council group.

[redacted] stated, also, that he had received information that negroes in Humphreys County, Mississippi, were told to go to the courthouse and remove their names from the voting roles or they would not be able to obtain any credit. He said he understood that six or seven of fourteen registered negro voters in this county have done so upon application of this pressure. In this connection, he mentioned that PATTERSON had given as one of the aims of the Citizens Council of Mississippi the preventing of negroes from voting.

[redacted] said he had further learned that a Negro undertaker at Belzoni, Mississippi, has a burial insurance association and was requested by Dr. T. R. M. HOWARD, a Negro leader at Mound Bayou, to accept a position as the county Boy Scout leader in Humphreys County. He said it was reported to him that when citizens in the community learned that Dr. HOWARD had asked the undertaker to accept this position, he was instructed not to do so and he was told that if he did, the plantation negroes who belonged to his burial association would no longer remain members. According to [redacted] this undertaker was also told to take his name from the voting roll. He said he did not know whether the Negro undertaker had removed his name from the voting roll, but it was his understanding that the Negro did not accept the position as Boy Scout leader for that county.

[redacted] stated he had received information concerning the following incident from several interviews conducted by him at Lexington, Mississippi, one of which was with one [redacted] who operates [redacted] in that town. According to [redacted] some months ago, a white man ran over the flower bed of a Negro school teacher, whereupon she became somewhat abusive to him. He then reportedly went home, obtained a pistol, returned to her house and shot her in the leg. [redacted] said that he was told that the Negro woman signed an affidavit against the white man who shot her but the affidavit was later withdrawn. He said as a result of this incident, the Negro woman reportedly lost her position as a school teacher. He said he had received information from several sources to the effect that the Citizens Council had nothing to do with this matter but other sources stated that members of the Citizens Council in that community had bragged about their accomplishment in having her fired. He mentioned further that the wom-

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an's husband had been employed at a service station, but he was shortly thereafter dismissed.

[redacted] said [redacted] the owner of the service station who told him that no pressure whatsoever had been exerted on him to discharge this negro employee, and that as a matter of fact, about a week before the shooting took place, the employee had stated that he was going to leave. [redacted] pointed out, however, that he received information from another source to the effect that the operator of the service station had been approached and had been told he would lose the patronage of the white citizens in the community if the Negro were not fired.

[redacted] mentioned that a Negro who resides in Jackson ^{MISS.} named ARRINGTON/HIGH is a "pamphleteer" and he makes numerous attacks on different individuals and groups in a small publication called "The Eagle Eye." According to [redacted] this pamphlet is distributed mainly in the general area around Jackson. He said, however, that approximately in December, 1954, the Citizens Council mailed copies of the "Eagle Eye" throughout the state in an effort to show that the Negro is becoming unmanageable. [redacted] advised that he is on the mailing list for "The Eagle Eye" and that furthermore he receives numerous mimeographed papers from the Citizens Council of Mississippi. He advised that he had no further information concerning instant matter.

On January 24, 1955, [redacted] (N), [redacted]

[redacted] Greenville, was interviewed. [redacted]

[redacted] said that the main method employed by the Citizens Council which had been noted by him has been to exert pressure on negroes by withdrawing credit to them. He stated that in his opinion this is morally wrong but no violation of civil rights or any other laws, and, as a matter of fact, he stated he did not know of any violations committed by the Citizens Councils. He said he had heard reports concerning contacts made on Negroes at Belzoni to have them withdraw their names from the voting roll. He stated it was his understanding that the Negro voters had been approached by individuals, not as members of the Citizens Council, and furthermore these activities were going on long before the Citizens Council was formed.

[redacted] said that while he did not approve of the Citizens Council of Mississippi, he knew of no violations which had been committed by these groups.

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On January 25, 1955, Dr. T. R. M. HOWARD (N), Mound Bayou, was interviewed. He advised that he is the surgeon and chief of the Friendship Clinic and he is also President of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro leadership which was organized four years ago to promote good citizenship and race relationship.

Dr. HOWARD stated that the avowed purpose of the Citizens Council has been to prevent integration in the schools and to prevent Negroes from voting. He said to attain these ends, the Citizens Council has stated they would use the following method:

They would see that credit is frozen and no lending agency would lend money to a Negro; that no white gins would gin cotton for a Negro; that white landlords would make Negro renters move; that they would not hire Negroes; and that they would defeat at the polls any candidate who had other objectives in mind. He said that to date to the best of his knowledge the main activities of the Citizens Council in connection with the Negroes has been confined to a war of nerves. He stated that he received a report that credit was cut off in a case involving one [redacted] who was purchasing land at Percy, Mississippi. He stated [redacted] had a loan at the Bank at Hollandale, Mississippi. He was reportedly called in by the President of the bank and was told it was understood he had attended a meeting of the Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership. He was told that there would never be any integration in the schools and his loan would not be extended.

Dr. HOWARD stated he had heard that a Negro undertaker, one [redacted] Belzoni, Mississippi, had been told to withdraw his registration to vote. He said that furthermore a direct threat had been made to keep [redacted] Indianola, away from the polls.

Dr. HOWARD related that in the first week in November, 1954, the Knights of Tabor held their annual meeting at Indianola. He said that in connection therewith, they had an oratorical contest, topic of which was "Integration". HOWARD said that the leaders of the Knights of Tabor were called in by some of the white leaders in the community at Indianola, and were told not to discuss any phase of integration or if they intended to do so, they would have to hold their meeting at some other town.

As mentioned previously, Dr. HOWARD stated that he had no factual information concerning any violation of civil rights or violation of any laws on the part of the Citizens Council but that so far, their main activities have been confined to a war of nerves against the Negroes.

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[redacted] advised SA EVERETT on February 4, 1955 that the Citizens Council desires to cooperate with Negroes who feel that separate but equal facilities are best in the South. Economic pressure is to be aimed at such agitators as ARRINGTON HIGH of Jackson, Mississippi, who stir up trouble by irresponsible acts and words. He stated that the pressures of the council are not to be directed against all Negroes but just undesirable ones.

[redacted] also stated that at the instance of the Belzoni Citizens Council, City and County Registrars are interrogating both Negro and white applicants to be registered voters on their understanding of the State Constitution. As a result, several white people have been disqualified due to illiteracy. He stated that the Association is one hundred percent behind legislation pending in the State Legislature to equalize school facilities and the white people are willing to have themselves taxed additionally in order to build better Negro schools.

[redacted] added that at the last meeting of the Belzoni Citizens Council, which was held in January, 1955, the principal speaker was ROSS BARNETT, a candidate for Governor of Mississippi. He stated that the Council plans to have all candidates for Governor speak at meetings so that their stand on segregation can be evaluated. He stated that one of the major functions of the Citizens Council is to screen all candidates for State and local offices on the question of segregation so that the Council can recommend support or opposition to those candidates, according to what is believed to be for the best interests of the white people in Mississippi.

[redacted] further advised SA EVERETT on February 8, 1955, that [redacted] Chairman of the Indianola Citizens Council, had told him of an incident related to [redacted] by [redacted] Merchant, Louise, Mississippi. A Negro farm laborer who owed [redacted] a debt, requested [redacted] to lend him \$50.00 prior to Christmas of 1954. [redacted] told him that he was getting out of the money-lending business and in addition had heard that the Negro had registered as a voter; therefore, he refused to lend the money. The Negro returned later the same day, or the following day, and again approached [redacted]. He told [redacted] that he had gone to Belzoni and removed his name from the voters' list and again asked for the loan, which was granted.

Attempts to locate and interview [redacted] Belzoni, Mississippi, on February 8 and 9, 1955, were unsuccessful.

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Observation on February 8, 1955, by SA GEORGE EVERETT, of the list of registered Negro voters in Humphreys County, which was made available by [redacted] Circuit Court Clerk, disclosed a total of 129 who had registered. During October and November, 1954, eighteen of that number had given [redacted] signed authority to cancel their registration, which was done. The name of [redacted] was not cancelled.

[redacted] (N), [redacted] Indianola, Mississippi, on February 8, 1954, advised SA EVERETT that he has received no threats from the Citizens Council or from individuals. He stated that he had never had a large plantation practice but some of his farm patients have told him that the farm owners had advised them that any bills they incurred with [redacted] would not be paid by the farmers. This, he said, was a suggestion that they go to some other doctor. 2/8/55

[redacted] stated that all of the publicity he has received concerning the economic pressure being brought to bear against him actually has helped him, since it has brought him new patients in a number larger than those he lost. [redacted] stated that he has been a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since his college days and he feels that one reason for the economic pressure against him is the fact that an article written by him appeared in the October 29, 1953 issue of the Clarion Ledger, a Jackson, Mississippi newspaper of wide circulation, advocating equal school facilities. He stated that he has never advocated integration, since he was born and reared at Indianola, and he knows better than to try and agitate for integration at this time.

[redacted] stated as another example of economic pressure the fact that the County will not give his wife a job [redacted] although she is a college graduate and much better qualified to [redacted] than many of the Negro [redacted] in the county who have only high school educations.

[redacted] stated that about two years ago, when he was endeavoring to register as a voter at Indianola, he heard from "third-hand rumors" that some of the white people at a Rotary Club meeting had intimated that something might happen to him. He stated that this was before the Citizens Council was organized. He further stated that he had no idea of being run out of the State of Mississippi as this is his home and in addition he has a year and a half remaining on his pledge to the State to practice medicine in Mississippi five years, that being part

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of his obligation to the State in repaying a loan by the State Education Board to finance his medical education.

WILL LOVE (W), Chief of Police, Indianola, advised SA EVERETT on February 8, 1955, that no complaints concerning violence or threats have been received by him from any Negro or have been reported to him by any source with regard to activity of the Citizens Council or individuals possibly members of the Council.

[redacted] (N), Patrolman, Indianola Police Department, advised there has been no indication of force or threats being exerted by the Citizens Council against Negroes in that community. [redacted] stated he knew of no Negroes losing their jobs as a result of Council activity and there has been no change in the relationship between whites and Negroes as far as he can see. He stated that the Negro school athletic teams still use the stadium at the white school for their athletic contests, since they do not have a stadium of their own. He advised that the white people in the community have continued to aid Negro Churches and those in need.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] is considered a radical by the Negroes in Indianola and is not liked by them, because he feels superior to them. He stated that [redacted] will not cooperate with his own people and that he doesn't have a large medical practice because he charges more than the white doctors charge. He stated that any financial damage [redacted] suffers will be of his own making rather than by any action of the Citizens Council.

[redacted] further stated he feels that the Citizens Councils were organized as a result of hysteria over the recent Supreme Court decision and rumors that Negroes were going to press for immediate integration of the schools. He stated that actually most of the Negroes in Mississippi do not want integration but did want equal facilities and opportunities. He stated that the Negro must educate himself to the level of the white people and earn his place before there will be a change in the South.

[redacted] State District Attorney (W), Winona, Mississippi, advised SA EVERETT on February 2, 1955, that he knows of no pressure on Negroes in that locality but that after hearing about economic sanctions being imposed, all of the Negroes who had registered to vote voluntarily removed their names from the registered voters list. He stated that in his opinion they decided it was to their financial advantage to remove their names.

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[redacted] further advised SA EVERETT on February 3, 1955, concerning incidents which might have been fostered by the Citizens Council. He stated that [redacted] a Negro employed by ELLIS HARDWARE COMPANY, Winona, had been active in urging Negroes to register and vote. During the latter part of 1954, [redacted] was fired, without any statement of the reason. A short time later he was rehired by the Hardware Company and is still employed there. MISS

[redacted] stated that [redacted] a taxi operator, was also active in urging Negroes to vote. In addition, [redacted] had given the city considerable trouble by hiring reckless drivers and by allegedly hauling whiskey in his cabs. The City cancelled his taxi permit on the basis of complaints received against the operation thereof. MISS

As a result of these two incidents, [redacted] stated the Negroes got the idea that the Citizens Council was responsible for them and without any urging had their names removed from the voters' lists. He stated that no information has come to his attention indicating any force or violence in that community attributable to Citizens Council Committee.

ENCLOSURES

To the Bureau 2 photostats of:)
To New Orleans 1 photostat of:)

1. "A Review of BLACK MONDAY", by Judge TOM P. BRADY, of the 14th Circuit Court District, Brookhaven, Miss., in an address made to the Indianola Citizens Council 10/28/54.
2. Pamphlet "FREE AND FEARLESS" edited and published by HARRY WILLIAM PYLE, "THE POLITICAL REPORTER", November, 1954 issue.
3. Letter ~~TO~~ TO ALL MISSISSIPPIANS with heading "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi Winona, Mississippi, December 8, 1954" signed: "For the Executive Committee, by Robert B. Patterson, Secretary, Citizens Council"

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ENCLOSURES (CONTINUED)

4. "Official Election Returns on the Amendment To Raise Voter Qualifications in Mississippi Comparison of 1952 Returns with 1954 Returns"

5. "News Bulletin No. 3 dated December 30, 1954"

6. Letter addressed to:

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Dumas, Mississippi", with letterhead of "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Winona, Mississippi" dated December 31, 1954 and signed "ROBERT B. PATTERSON"

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

INFORMANTS

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Confidential Informant T-1 is [redacted] whose identity is not being disclosed at his request. He was contacted by SA JOHN DANIEL SULLIVAN on 2/2/55.

Confidential Informant T-2 is [redacted] whose identity is not disclosed in view of his employment. He was contacted by SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on February 7, 1955.

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Confidential Informant T-3 is [redacted] whose identity is not disclosed in view of his employment. Contacted by SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on 2/7/55.

Confidential Informant T-4 is [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau. He was contacted by SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on 2/8/55.

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Confidential Informant T-5 is [redacted] of the Memphis Division, [redacted] who was contacted by SA JOHN DANIEL SULLIVAN on 2/8/55.

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Confidential Informant T-6 is [redacted] of the Memphis Division contacted by SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on 2/8/55.

Confidential Informant T-7 is [redacted] whose name is being protected in view of his employment [redacted] He was contacted by SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on 2/1/55.

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REFERENCE: Letter from the Director to Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins dated 12/10/54 with copies to New Orleans, Memphis and Birmingham.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW ORLEANS**

REPORT MADE AT NEW ORLEANS	DATE WHEN MADE 2-18-55	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1-5, 24-28, 31; 2-1, 4, 11, 14-55	REPORT MADE BY LJF:dbc LAURENCE J. FRANK, JR.
TITLE CHANGED: THE CITIZENS COUNCILS (OF MISSISSIPPI) AKA, ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - X	

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

The Citizens Councils (of Mississippi) reportedly organized Indianola, Miss. during July, 1954. [redacted] Indianola [redacted] ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Holly Ridge, Miss., Executive Secretary. Reportedly group organized to peacefully oppose the integration of the races and to bring economic pressure on Negro leaders who push segregation issue. Group reportedly opposed to violence and hopes to accomplish purpose by legal means. Councils reportedly embrace the leading citizens in many of the communities and are peaceful and law abiding. According to newspaper accounts Councils are thickest in Miss. Delta, where Negroes reportedly outnumber whites 4-1. Allegedly 54 Citizens Councils organized in 82 counties in Miss. Citizens Council of Simpson County, Miss. organized by group of Negroes and reportedly opposed to integration of races. Informant reports 30,000 Klansmen in State of Miss. who reportedly are publicly members of a "Citizens Committee" Member of Citizens Council, Yazoo County, Miss., denies any Klan association of members.

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DETAILS:

The title in this case is being changed to reflect the additional name of Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi which newspaper articles indicate to be the title of the state-wide organization.

WINOHA, MISS.

This investigation is predicated upon ~~an~~ memorandum dated December 10, 1954 from the Honorable WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, who forwarded an article which appeared in the Washington Post and the Times Herald on Sunday, November 21, 1954, regarding The Citizens Councils (of Mississippi).

Mr. TOMPKINS suggested that an investigation be made regarding this organization with a view to it being considered for designation pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450 relating to the Federal employee security program. He indicated that particular emphasis should be placed on any policies or activities which indicate that the organization had "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States".

A photostatic copy of the above-mentioned article was enclosed and was written by a BEN PRICE. This article alleged that "a new type of anti-Negro vigilante movement--using boycotts instead of bullwhips--has arisen in at least one state in the South". This article stated that a network of Citizens Councils in Mississippi have been organized in 22 of Mississippi's 82 counties and are spreading. It indicated that their purpose was to apply economic pressure to "trouble-makers", who would upset the "Southern way of life". This article described a "trouble-maker" as anyone who advocates compliance with the Supreme Court decision against racial segregation.

This article reported that the Councils' ire was directed against "outside agitators" in general and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in particular. The article quoted Dr. EMMETT J. STRINGER, a Columbus (Mississippi) dentist, President of the NAACP, as

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saying he believed there had been some action on the part of the Councils by stating "we had a branch president, a merchant, who had to give up. A group of white men drove up to his store and told him to get in the car. He did and they took him to his bank. There were the banker, his wholesaler and other people who gave him credit. They told him they would give him no more...He had to give up, go bankrupt or get out". According to the article, Dr. STRINGER also told of a Negro doctor whose patients were advised not to go to him anymore and it was reported that the doctor was active in the NAACP. The article also quoted STRINGER as saying "ask for me, I can't get credit anywhere in Mississippi, and I'm just getting started, too".

The article further reported that "after existence of the semi-secret Councils first was reported by the Associated Press in late summer, the Mississippi Assembly representative from Sunflower County, Mrs. WILLMA B. SLEDGE, issued what she called a 'clarifying statement' about the organization".

"She said the Councils 'are a widespread group composed of reliable white male citizens who believe that segregation is not discrimination and are organized for the sole purpose of maintaining segregation".

"She added: 'They do not and will not advocate violence in any form'".

The article further reported that "while the Councils propose to fight the Supreme Court's decision by legal means, there are undercurrents that suggest violence would be tolerated, if necessary, to 'keep the Negro in his place'".

This article reported that at a meeting October 12, (1954) at Winona, a state organization of the Councils was set up with ROBERT B. PATTERSON, a Holly Ridge planter and former college football star, as executive secretary. It was reported that PATTERSON was the only official whose name has been made public and he plans to establish a permanent office in Winona.

This article reported that the first Citizens Council was organized in Sunflower County's seat,

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the town of Indianola, and it began with a meeting of five or six men in a private home. Among those reportedly present were PATTERSON and HERMAN MOORE, head of the Indianola Bank.

It was reported that the plan for the Councils was reportedly drawn from the book, "Black Monday", by Circuit Judge TOM P. BRADY of Brookhaven, in which the theory of economic pressures is advanced.

It was reported that MOORE subsequently became chairman of the Indianola Council and the minutes of this first meeting were duplicated and distributed throughout the State to a carefully selected mailing list. According to the minutes, ARTHUR J. CLARK, JR., an attorney, explained: "it is the thought of our group that the solution to this problem may become easier if various agitators and the like could be removed from the communities in which they now operate. We propose to accomplish this through the careful application of economic pressures".

According to this article, with the account of the Indianola meeting went a statement urging members to read certain publications. The bulk of them, while anti-Negro, are also anti-Semitic.

This article further reported that in another mailing from Indianola, October 15, the point was made: "Unless we organize, the Negro leaders will continue to exert pressure until violence breaks out, and then, regardless of how you feel, you will be drawn into the conflict, for the issue will be black against white".

PATTERSON was interviewed, according to the article, and said that "as long as there is no integration, there will be no trouble. We sincerely mean every word. We have the interest of the Negro at heart as much as our own. A lot of people will never understand that. We don't expect them to understand".

"I am living here on a plantation with 35 Negro families. We never have any trouble and we are getting along fine".

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He said "Communists are trying to make us integrate, weaken us and destroy us".

The article also quoted Dr. A. H. McCOY, a Negro dentist in Jackson, Mississippi, as saying: "In Jackson, where there is more intelligence and education, I don't think there will be much trouble, but in the rurals, where all they've heard is Bilbo-type talk and where they can barely read and write--many whites, too, I mean--there may be trouble".

"When they integrate, they might as well have Federal agents around; the local law enforcement officers won't protect the Negro. There is danger these Citizens Councils may whip up sentiment among the less desirable elements".

"If there is violence, the white people are going to shed blood, too. You know a man sometimes will let you push him around, but you start monkeying with his children and he forgets about the hereafter".

AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES
OF ORGANIZATION

New Orleans Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability, advised that The Citizens Councils (of Mississippi) were originally organized during the late summer of 1954 in the Mississippi Delta, where in some counties the Negro population exceeds that of the white. He stated that, according to his information, a banker by the name of [redacted] Indianola, Mississippi, was reportedly the founder of the organization and he understands that the headquarters of the organization are now located in Winona, Mississippi. He reported that the organization has some following in most of the counties in Mississippi, but that it is predominantly in the Mississippi Delta area, and most of the activities of the organization have been centered in that area.

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T-1 advised that his understanding of the purpose of the organization is to peacefully oppose the

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integration of the races and to bring economic pressure on the Negro leaders who push the segregation issue. He claimed he understood that the group would not stand for any violence and hopes to accomplish its purpose by legal means. He claimed that he was inclined to believe that the purposes of the organization had all been published in newspapers and he did not feel that this was a front group for any radical or subversive organization.

Through the Archives and History Department, State of Mississippi, issues of the Jackson Clarion-Ledger newspapers were made available for the months of September, October and November, 1954 and were reviewed.

It was noted that in an article appearing on September 10, 1954, by SAM JOHNSON, of the Associated Press, several unidentified legislators were quoted as saying white men who want to keep segregation in force are banding into "citizens' councils" throughout Mississippi. The article further quoted this same source as saying that "these men want to persuade first but are determined to use force if necessary". Representative DAVE WOMACK of Humphreys County in the Delta was quoted in the article as saying "We have one of them, the strongest in the state. We have about 500 members and they mean business". The article reported that one state representative had stated that practically every county in the state has organized, or is organizing and it was no secret. The article quoted the representative as stating "We want them (Negroes) to know it in our county". According to the article, this legislator held the view that if Negroes know about the councils they will not try to enter white schools. This would prevent bloodshed, the representative was quoted as saying. This article further quoted several leaders as saying, "The peaceful approach was being emphasized", but some other legislators from the Delta and other "black counties" where Negroes outnumber Whites, predicted bloodshed and said force will be necessary to keep Negroes from entering white schools. The article quoted one representative as saying "a few killings" would be the best thing for the state just before the people vote on a proposed constitutional amendment empowering the legislature to abolish public schools. This article stated that the desire to avoid violence was emphasized by a council member who insisted on remaining anonymous. It quoted him as saying "we want the

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people assured that there is responsible leadership which will and can handle local segregation problems".

"If that is recognized, there will be no cause for any hot-headed bunch to start a Ku Klux Klan. If we fail, though, the temper of the public may produce something like the Klan."

This article reported that Mayor BILL CARAWAY of Leland, remarked, "We are trying a peaceful and intelligent approach to a very difficult problem."

Mr. MARTIN HEARD, ^{MISS} a Leland insurance man, was quoted in the article as saying, "Our groups of individuals who have met together (did so) in order to provide a responsible, sincere and effective leadership in maintaining segregation, which we believe to be for the best interest of both the white and colored races." The article quoted another council member as saying, "We hope to prevent violence by offering a civilized method of dealing with the segregation problem. Somebody has to be the spokesman for the majority of the white people, and it is a lot better to have that somebody be on the side of reason and the law."

On September 13, 1954, an article appeared in the Clarion-Ledger newspaper, Jackson, Mississippi, which is quoted below:

"The Citizens' Councils (for preservation of segregation) which are growing by leaps and bounds in Mississippi, have as one of their major purposes the prevention of violence between the races.

"The Councils, which are flourishing in both hill and Delta sections of the state, hope to use persuasion and economic sanctions to enforce segregation,--and definitely deplore threats of violence, a spokesman said Sunday.

"The Councils are being organized by counties and by communities. They embrace the leading citizens in many of the communities in which organized,--and these are peaceful and law-abiding, the spokesman

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pointed out. Furthermore, they are citizens who recognize that in some sections and in certain respects, the Negro citizens have not been given facilities that should have been provided. The Councils favor justice for both races in these matters, but are opposed to expansion of Negro registration and voting.

"Council meetings are not secret affairs, this spokesman said, but are held openly,--often in public school building.

"A typical invitation to join a Council includes a statement that annual dues are \$5, and says 'We must stand together and present a united front in the days of crisis ahead. Your membership is urgently needed. If all counties in Mississippi and in the South were organized as we have done, what would our possibilities be? We will be in position to support any national organization that we feel sanctions our ideals'.

"The invitation is presented to persons believed to be 'a freedom-loving American who believes in separation of the races, with liberty and justice for both. You are invited to join our local Citizens' Council, which is being organized and dedicated to upholding racial segregation in our community. We plan to organize and unite all local, patriotic white citizens to direct and support our local and state officials'.

"Organization of the Councils usually follows a pattern of a chairman and his immediate advisors, and four main committees with duties assigned in the fields of Politics and Elections, Information and Education, Membership and Finance, and Legal Advisory.

"The Political and Elections committee is charged with screening all candidates in local and state elections against those who might be seeking the Negro vote. If necessary, organize a white private election within our own group to combat the Negro bloc vote (as in our old white primary).

Discourage Negro registration by every legal means.

"The Information and Education committee is to gather segregation information from over the nation; seek facts to present to the people, educating all citizens, black and white, to the advantages of segregation, and the dangers of integration; handle speakers, press and radio; coordination with similar organizations.

"The Membership and Finance committee seeks 'white patriotic voters' for membership.

"The Legal Advisory committee is to anticipate moves by agitators, and to devise legal means of handling the problems that may arise. It will provide legal counsel for members and recommends application of economic pressure to trouble-makers.

"The Council spokesman who made this information available Sunday was interested in informing the general public, both white and colored, that the organization not only has no plans for use of violence, but feels talk of extra-legal action is inflammatory and harmful to the purposes of the Councils."

Another article appearing in the Clarion-Ledger, Jackson, Mississippi, on September 14, 1954, quoted Mrs. WILMA SLEDGE, a state representative, as defending the "Citizens Councils" on the floor of the Mississippi Legislature stating "They do not and will not advocate violence in any form. These councils will maintain segregation through unity of purpose, consolidation of public opinion, and utilization of all legal means available". She was reported as saying, "There are some operations of the council which for obvious reason cannot be publicized". She added that "such operations will be legal". It was reported that Mrs. SLEDGE's statement was prompted by an Associated Press story which announced the existence of the councils. The article further quoted an unidentified planter from Yazoo County as saying that economic force was the handiest of white tools and "We won't gin their cotton, we won't allow them credit and we won't rent them houses if Negroes try to

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break down segregation". This article said that the councils were the thickest in the rich, agricultural Delta, the plantation area of Mississippi, where Negroes outnumber whites as much as 4-1.

In an Associated Press article dated September 26, 1954, and appearing in the Clarion-Ledger on September 27, 1954 under a Mound Bayou, Mississippi dateline, it was reported that a special meeting of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership (RCNL) took a united stand against efforts to keep Negroes in the state from voting or entering white schools. A spokesman for the group reportedly predicted that the Citizens Councils recently organized in an effort to enforce segregation would be disastrous to white businessmen. According to the article, resolutions that were adopted included: 1. Mississippi Negroes should register, pay poll taxes and vote; 2. State universities and colleges should accept Negro students immediately. It was reported, however, that the delegates voted two to one against any concerted move toward ending segregation in public schools before the final Supreme Court decision on how it should be done.

On October 24, 1954, an article appeared in the Clarion-Ledger newspaper, Jackson, Mississippi, which is quoted below:

"Ex-Senator Fred Jones, Inverness, member of the Sunflower county board of supervisors, Friday called on citizens in all counties of Mississippi to organize units of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi as a protection for the white race.

"He described the Citizens' Council as 'an organization designed to alert and mobilize public opinion and to accomplish our aims and objectives in a legal and orderly manner.

"Mr. Jones said that 21 counties have already set up chapters of the Citizens' Council and offered to go into any county of the state on invitation, to assist in forming local organizations affiliated with the state order.

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"In a letter of explanation, apparently forwarded to leaders in all sections of the state, he reports that counties now organized are working to counteract expected pressure for integration by the U. S. Supreme Court. The letter follows:

"Last Tuesday a meeting was held in Winona, Mississippi, to consolidate into a State organization the various Citizens Council Groups over the State of Mississippi. At this meeting twenty-one counties were represented, but it is imperative that all of the eighty-two counties of the State organize. Here in the South we face a dark and bitter moment. Our way of life and our civilization are threatened with destruction. The traditions, the conventions, the taboos and the basic concept of a people represent the storehouse of their social usages, and if you destroy this you have destroyed their culture and their civilization.

"As dark and as bitter as the hour may seem there is yet time to save our heritage for our children and our grandchildren. Our foreparents faced an even darker moment. There was a day when our land was garrisoned with Yankee and Negro troops and our own Southern people were disfranchised. At that time our State government had a Negro Superintendent of Education, and Negro speaker of the House, and there were Negro Sheriffs scattered all over the State of Mississippi.

"Here was legal integration and we had lost our election machinery, but back in the dark and bitter days of reconstruction, we had had the courage to stand with their backs to the wall and fight for the things they cherished and believed in. Had our foreparents been less, we of the South would today be a mongrel and mulatto race, and if we fail to meet the challenge of this hour descendants will mingle and mate with the Negro race.

"The Citizens Council is an organization designed to alert and mobilize public opinion and to

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accomplish our aims and objectives in a legal and orderly manner. In the counties where we have been organized, our lawyers, our bankers and our business men have been the leaders in this organization. If our highest type of citizenship fails to supply a plan to maintain segregation and the integrity of the white race, then the wrong crowd will supply the leadership and there will be violence and bloodshed.

"We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure.

"When the final decree of the Supreme Court is written the real pressure in the matter of segregation will begin. Walter White, Negro leader for the Society for Advancement for Colored People will speak in Jackson early in November.

"White would not have dared to do this ten years ago, but our complacency has shown the Negro that aggressiveness might pay off. You will recall that last spring the attitude of the Negroes of Mississippi completely changed when the Supreme Court decision was made and at the meeting held in Governor's White's office these Negro leaders demanded a surrender. The Constitutional Amendment to abolish public schools and the organization of Citizens Councils have dampened the ardor of these Negro leaders, and all of this goes to prove that a firm stand is what is needed. Unless we organize, the Negro leaders will continue to exert pressure until violence breaks out and then regardless of how you feel, you will be drawn into conflict for the issue will then be White against Black.

"In my opinion, it is the duty of the leadership in each community to see that peace and order is preserved and violence averted. The best means

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of doing these things is to organize a Citizens Council and if you need assistance in doing this, I will come, or send at our own expense, people to assist you."

An article written by DAVID BROWN under an Indianola, Mississippi dateline appeared in the Clarion-Ledger on October 24, 1954, which reported that ROBERT B. "TUT" PATTERSON was the newly elected executive secretary of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi. This article stated that in July (1954) PATTERSON and five other men in Indianola, leading citizens including a banker and others, got together and formed the first Citizens' Council in Mississippi. This article stated that in all, 25 out of Mississippi's 82 counties have Citizens' Councils, which now cover most of the Delta counties and embrace the breadth of Mississippi to the Alabama line, with three scattered counties in South Mississippi.

The article quoted PATTERSON as saying that the organization was "dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility within our communities and our state, and to the preservation of our States Rights". He was quoted further as saying, "Our primary objective is the preservation of racial segregation in our counties and in our state". He said, "If we integrated schools right here it would mean putting 20 white children into a classroom with 80 Negro children. That will never happen in Mississippi. There are two ways to keep it from happening--there is the violent and lawless way, and there is the peaceful and legal way. The purpose of the Citizens' Councils is to see that segregation is maintained peacefully and legally. We have been falsely described as prescribing violence--we have never considered using force and in fact we are organized to prevent that happening. We believe this is something that peaceful-minded reasonable citizens can work out for themselves. We have some of the best leadership in Mississippi in our organization. It's a grass-roots movement--it's an origination of the people. We don't have politicians."

An International News Service article dated November 29, 1954 bearing a Selma, Alabama dateline appeared

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in the Clarion-Ledger, Jackson, Mississippi, on November 30, 1954, reporting that Mississippi State Senator T. M. WILLIAMS of Lexington, Mississippi, was invited to Selma by the Dallas County Citizens' Council to explain how the movement had developed in Mississippi. It was reported by WILLIAMS that 54 citizens' councils had been formed in Mississippi's 82 counties and three other counties in addition to Dallas County had been organized in Alabama. Reverend M. H. CLARK, Presbyterian Minister, Lexington, Mississippi, reported told the group that "Segregation is the Will of God, and if you keep quiet on the matter, you may see America fall". Mr. M. AUSTIN KEITH was reported as chairman of the Dallas County Group. It was reported that more than 600 joined the Dallas group and paid \$3.00 each as dues, which KEITH said would be used in the segregation preservation campaign money within the county.

Chief of Police W. D. RAYFIELD and Chief of Detectives [redacted] NA, Jackson Police Department, advised on January 27, 1955 and February 11 and 14, 1955 that they knew of no chapter of the Citizens' Councils in Jackson, Mississippi or Hinds County, Mississippi. They reported that information which they had received indicated that the activity of this group seemed to be centered in the Mississippi Delta. Chief RAYFIELD reported that he had received a copy of an address made to the Indianola Citizens' Council on October 28, 1954 by Judge TOM P. BRADY of the Fourteenth Circuit Court District, Brookhaven, Mississippi, which he made available. This address was reported to be a review of "Black Monday", a book written by Judge BRADY on the Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954.

[redacted] Office of the Secretary of State, advised that the Citizens' Councils (of Mississippi) was not incorporated in the State of Mississippi. He did produce a charter which was issued to the Citizens Council of Simpson County, Mississippi, which was incorporated on July 2, 1954. The petition for this charter was filed by S. L. WALKER and the incorporators were WALKER, HUGH DAVIS and C. H. HARPER. The petition included the names of GUY McKINNIS, EUGENE JACKSON, JOHNNIE HAYS, E. BARRON and listed HUGH DAVIS as president, and S. L. WALKER as secretary.

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The purpose for which the corporation was created was described as to "bring about a better understanding between the races and promote good will in solving problems relating to Negroes; to promote and encourage a program of citizenship training among the people of the community; and to expose and combat Communism and all other forces which are not in harmony with the democratic way of life as set forth in the Constitution of the State of Mississippi and of the United States of America".

AT MENDENHALL, MISSISSIPPI

[redacted] Circuit Clerk, Simpson County, advised that all of the above individuals were Negroes and [redacted] had voluntarily told him about the organization and told him that this group in Simpson County was opposed to the integration of the races and the group was going to take that stand. [redacted] stated that all of the members of this group who were identified were qualified voters in Simpson County. He stated that he did not know of any white citizens of Simpson County who had organized a chapter of the Citizens' Council.

Mr. GARRETT P. MULLINS and [redacted] Sheriff and Deputy Sheriff respectively, Simpson County, advised that all of the members of the Citizens Council of Simpson County who were identified were law abiding citizens.

New Orleans Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability, made available a news bulletin on February 14, 1955, dated January 27, 1955, issued in connection with a state-wide conference of the Association of Citizens' Councils held in Jackson, Mississippi on January 26, 1955 at the Heidelberg Hotel.

The details of this meeting as reported in the News Bulletin No. 5 are as follows:

"Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven gave the invocation followed by identification of the various counties.

"The Hon. Fred Jones of Inverness was asked to report on a Southwide Conference with representatives from

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ten states that had been held in Jackson on January 21 and 22. Mr. Jones reported that Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi all had fine delegations there. The group resolved to form an organization called "Federation for Constitutional Government". The idea was to create a coordinating agency to work with the various state organizations in preserving constitutional Government which, of course, includes States' Rights. The Temporary Chairman is John U. Barr, the old States' Righer from Louisiana. An executive committee was appointed to assist Mr. Barr in carrying out the aims of the organization. It is most inspirational to know that our sister states are standing with us at a time when our State sovereignty is being so direly threatened. You will be hearing more about this group.

"Many fine speakers were heard following Mr. Jones' report, including Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, Mr. Walter Sillers of Rosedale. Mr. Sillers emphasized the need for organization in mobilizing and concerting public opinion against the forces of evil which are attempting to destroy us.

"The group decided to increase the State Association Temporary Executive Committee to nine men, one from each of the following counties: Holmes, Leake, Leflore, Montgomery, Noxubee, Sunflower, Lincoln, Tate and Amite. These men were elected unanimously.

"The hearts and minds of those present were of one accord, that is, to preserve our way of live and our white heritage of sixty centuries.

"We believe the sentiments of the group there represented those of at least 95% of the white population in our State.

"Different speakers brought out the need for the various religious groups to take a stand on the

segregation issue on a local level.

"Another point brought out was the necessity of seeing that our children are not taught left-wing propaganda and the responsibility of the various county groups in interesting our young people in the great problem which we face today.

"What we must do now is for each county to go back and complete the organization of their local groups and then assist adjoining unorganized counties to set up their organization. In this way, in a few months we could complete the organization of our State so that we might stand united against the assault that will be thrust against us in the near future. We always welcome suggestions and recommendations from our local groups. They should be submitted either to one of our Executive Committee or to the State Office.

II. OFFICERS

ROBERT B. "TUT" PATTERSON, Executive Secretary of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, was reported in an article appearing in the Clarion-Ledger, Jackson, Mississippi, dated October 24, 1954, to be a native of Clarksdale, Mississippi. He reportedly went to Mississippi State College where he was captain of the 1942 football team. He served in the U. S. Army in Europe and at one time was Provost Marshal for the 87th Airborne Division in Berlin. He reportedly is farming at Holly Ridge, Mississippi, which is northwest of Indianola, Mississippi.

No other officers have been identified.

III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The stated aims and objectives of the Citizens' Councils (of Mississippi) as promulgated in various newspaper articles have been set forth previously in this report.

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IV. ACTIONS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT PROGRAMS

New Orleans Confidential Informant T-1, Chief RAYFIELD and Chief PIERCE advised that they have had no complaints concerning this organization and have heard of no acts of violence, terrorism or demonstrations.

New Orleans Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, advised on November 4, 1954 that [redacted] a member of Amalgamated Klan #1, Birmingham, ALA indicated recently that there are 30,000 Klansmen in the State of Mississippi. Informant stated that these Klansmen are publicly members of a "Citizens' Committee" in Mississippi, dedicated to upholding segregation, and secretly belong to the Klan. [redacted] indicated he secured this information from [redacted] who is connected with the American States Rights Association in Birmingham.

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AT YAZOO CITY, MISSISSIPPI

The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted]

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New Orleans Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability, advised on January 5 and February 14, 1955 that [redacted] member of the Citizens' Council chapter in [redacted] Mississippi. He stated that there was absolutely no connection whatsoever between the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi and the Ku Klux Klan. He claimed that he did not know of any Klansmen who were members of the Citizens Councils of Mississippi. He declared that the meetings of the Citizens Councils were open and publicized and that any white male was invited to participate. He claimed that the general purposes of the organization were to oppose integration of the races and sponsor segregation in the public schools.

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Enclosure to Bureau -- one copy of an address made to the Indianola Citizens' Council, 10-28-54 by Judge TOM P. BRADY

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Copies of this report are being designated for the Birmingham, Memphis and Mobile Divisions in view of the activity of this group in the territory covered by these divisions.

INFORMANTS

T-1 is [redacted] who is designated as a confidential informant at his request.

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T-2 is [redacted] as quoted in Birmingham letter to the Bureau 11-5-54 captioned "U. S. KLANS OF ALABAMA, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN; IS-X" (New Orleans file 100-3217-208).

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T-3 is [redacted] who is designated a confidential informant at his request.

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REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Department with copies to New Orleans, Memphis and Birmingham dated 12-17-54



Enclosure

105-34237-6

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one copy of an address made to the
Indianola Citizens' Council, 10-28-44
by Judge TOM P. BRADY

THE CITIZENS COUNCILS (OF MISS.)
AKA, ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISS.
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Orleans file 105-402

ENCLOSURE

105-34237-6

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A REVIEW OF

BLACK MONDAY

By JUDGE TOM P. BRADY
of the
Fourteenth Circuit Court District
Brookhaven, Miss.

*In An Address Made To The
Indianola Citizens' Council
October 28th, 1954*

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JUDGE BRADY'S ADDRESS

I feel very flattered that the men and women of the Delta, where for generations you have produced some of the ablest and the best statesmen that Mississippi has ever known, came to the hills and invited me here.

I think that this problem which we face in the South, and which is all important to us, is but a small section of the overall checkerboard. In dealing with our problem, I think it is wise that we should remember always that the national problems, the problems which tend to undermine or destroy this government, are in the last analysis, just as fundamental to the preservation of our way of life actually as the problem of segregation or integration of the races. I think before a man should make up his mind as to the solution of a problem, he should know all that he can about it. I have been asked to review briefly the book, "Black Monday," because it states, as I see it, the major portions of the integral parts of this problem.

But, I want to go beyond "Black Monday" if I may in the time allotted me, and discuss frankly with you some of the basic problems which gave rise to the segregation question, and which have given rise to a great many other of our problems which are national in their scope.

Lord Byron said: "The best of prophets of the future is the past." And, the past which we can comprehend and understand is known, and it speaks eloquently though it is past, though it is dead.

We know that in prehistoric times there arose the Vertebrates. This insurgence took place, I believe, in about the Pliocene epoch of the Cenozoic era. I don't want to be pedantic and I don't want to be too detailed, and I'm only going to say here tonight that which I think is absolutely fundamental for us to comprehend, understand and proclaim if we are to succeed in the solution of this problem.

Man was the last to be created. Archaeologists, anthropologists and scientists have studied and labored for years to give us these facts. Dr. Breasted, in his book, "The Conquest of Civilization," has laid down to my mind the most forceable and the most accurate concept which man, as yet, has been able to get with reference to the various species of the different races which are on this earth. We know that a man was created in the great northwest quadrant, which embodied all of Europe west of the

Ural Mountains, which went parallel with the 60th meridian down into the Indian Ocean, embodying Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Palestine, Phoenicia and those adjacent countries; we know that that was the home of the white race, Homo Caucasius, a fair-skinned, rather tall, for the most part erect, human being. Africa north of the Sahara was his southernmost boundary. He extended into Lybia and into Nubia. To the east of the Urals, and in the secluded plateaus of high Asia we find, and we know there existed, another man. He was round skulled, practically beardless; his skin was yellow, his hair straight and wiry, Homo Mongoloideus, the yellow man.

And, we know, separated from these two great races, one in the northwest quadrant, and the yellow man to the east of it, we know that south of there, bounded by the impassable Sahara Desert, on the north, and on the west by unconquered seas, lay the teeming black men of Africa. They were black skinned, long headed, and their hair was kinky. Now, we know that for generations those races developed along their own cultural lines. But, there was in the white man something which made him go beyond his boundaries; he was not content. He had the imagination, the incentive, the energy and the drive, and he proceeded to expand and spread, and he went down and he conquered and captured the black man.

These migrations and the ebbing and flowing of these various races took place. A part of this trek went into Egypt, and there, below the first cataract, along the Nile there, these white men went and lived, and for 35 dynasties they controlled Egypt. The civilization of Egypt was a white civilization. Cleopatra was a white woman. It was only in the 26th dynasty, when Taharka went upon the throne that the gradual seepage of the negroid blood into the white blood, which had come from the northwest quadrant, became complete. The white men built the pyramids, the beautiful architectural Temple of Karnak and the sphinx. Those men built there, and today with all the stone-cutting equipment, electrical and steam, which we have and the quarries of Abyssinnia, it is doubtful whether we could erect here one-third of the pyramids which they erected.

They had a high concept of God. It's true Isis and Osiris are far removed from Christ, but there was a mind of brilliant intellect that had developed a high civilization and a code of morals it didn't have to apologize for.

About the same time that this white trek began, the yellow man likewise had that incentive, and urge, and drive, this God-given spark which distinguishes men from brutes.

You are familiar with Genghis Khan, the Ming and the Chu and the other dynasties. You are familiar with their arts. Lao-tze, Buddha and Confucius came and they gave to those yellow men a satisfying concept of the divine, and an extremely high sense of morals, laws and values. And, although these races started at approximately the same time, in God's calendar, all the time this was going on, what was happening south of the Sahara? Some of the whites trickled through and laid the foundation for the brown negroes. They captured them as slaves and this mongrelization of Egypt took place, and Egypt fell. The same thing happened in India. The pre-Aryans came in and were swallowed up, but subsequent to that, the Aryan invasion came, and they were white men. They, too, captured and enslaved the negro. This negroid blood flowed into them.

You can rest assured that the persons who built the temple at Gwalior, the persons who constructed the Taj Mahal, the persons who wrote the Vedas, who created and believed and worshipped Brahma, the Essenes of India, where Christ was supposed to have spent His sixteenth through His thirtieth year, were white men. But the constant trickle went on, and on, and on, black blood flowing into white blood.

It is very doubtful whether the varnas, which is listed in the Vedas, was original with India; it probably came from Babylon. But, finally in their desperation to prevent the integration with the black, of the white men, they injected into their religion the four varnas, or the four colors. And the white men became the untouchables and they were the ruling class.

Nehru, the other day, laughed and said, "We have no race problem in India; we have always had white slaves." That is only recently. White slaves came after the integration had taken place, and now the vines and the jungle crawl over that civilization and those palaces and that civilization which India had, and which it enjoyed, just as Egypt is swallowed up in ignorance, superstition and poverty. The black teeming semi-barbaric masses of India have swallowed the white man.

We don't have to stay there. We can come to America, and you have the same thing repeated with the Mayas on a high plateau between Mex-

ico and Peru, with the Incas, the Toltecs. Yes, we know they were white men. We know by land bridges, by hurricane-driven dugouts that this migration took place. We know they were amalgamated with negroids.

It isn't strange or incomprehensible to me that if God can raise a negro up in Africa, He can raise a negro up in South America. If He can create a white man in the northwest quadrant, He can create a white man on the high plateau of old Mexico. But, what happened? The same thing happened there, and, wherever the white race has mingled its blood with the negroid (and I am not here as an exponent of race superiority — I am merely telling you facts). You don't have to take my word for it; those of you who have been in Central America and seen the Caribs, they are almost aborigines. Those of you who have been in Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Cuba; those of you who have been to Spain and to Italy, wherever you see this integration and this comingling, you see this resultant deterioration. It is the same old story. The jungle, the black blood swallows up, and with it goes this deterioration. It blows out the light within a white man's brain.

That is neither right nor wrong; they are simple facts, stern facts. Well, is that a long way from the segregation problem? Not so far. History has a way of repeating itself.

Rome came along and tried just what Egypt and India had done. Spain came along and tried the same thing, and Spain is reduced to an organ grinder, some monasteries, and some grapes and wine. It couldn't be just a coincidence; it couldn't be an accident—the deterioration and the destruction of these races took place subsequent to the amalgamation, with the amalgamation, with the negroid blood in it, and it is there for any student of history to read and know.

In 1620, on the sands of Jamestown, a slave boat landed. There were about 137 slaves in it. Prince Henry, the navigator, had declined to permit those slaves to be brought into Holland, and so they brought them over here. That day should be the "Thanksgiving Day" of the negroes of America. And they should set that day aside with some fitting memorial, because there was conferred upon that segment of the black race, the greatest favor that one human being could confer upon another. He was brought from abject ignorance, primitive savagery, and placed in a country that was Christian and civilized.

Historians bemoan the fact, and I am not here to argue that slavery is right because we know that slavery is wrong and we know that any nation that has enslaved another nation has had to pay a terrific price, just as any human being who enslaves or mistreats another must pay a terrific price. God's law of retribution is as immutable as God's law of gravity. And, Russia is building for herself a tremendous price to pay, and so are these other totalitarians and Communistic nations in their mistreatment of human beings. 1620—that's when the seed was planted on the shores of the Atlantic at Jamestown. That seed has now grown into a tree and is bearing fruit today. That is the trouble which faces us now. Of course, they were considered just a little better than a good saddle horse—we know it—a little under, perhaps, a good hunting dog. They were savages, the Congo flowed deep in their brains. They had no such thing as a code of ethics or morals. They were abysmal savages. Just a few months before, they had sharpened their teeth with rocks so that they could more easily tear human flesh; they were cannibals. Although the yellow and the white man had laid cannibalism aside thousands of years before, the black man still adhered to it. And, although the yellow and white man had a concept of God and man's relationship to God and had developed these fine religions (eight of which are still alive today and eight of which are serving and benefiting white and yellow races and the brown races of this earth), the black man had evolved nothing except a rudimentary nature worship, a fear of lightning, worship of the sun and evil spirits. No concept of a Divine Being beyond that which may have been held by a Neanderthal man.

We revolted from England. We revolted, that's right. The American Revolution was as much an honorable revolution as the Civil War—that was another revolution. The sons of those who had revolted against England revolted again against coercion and mistreatment, so they felt here.

In the Civil War, yes—they were the instigating cause of that; from 1860-1864, the South fought, bled and died for a cause. A cause that was lost.

I am not here to criticize or to blame anyone. Abuse and criticism are the tools of the clumsy and the frustrated and the desperate. But, we know that the slave traders of New England took rum to the west coast of Africa,

and they traded rum to those negroes there, who in turn sold their own brothers into slavery. And, we know they brought them back here, and we know they tried to utilize them in the north and the east, but the cold climate and the negroes' susceptibility to most diseases and his primitive ignorance, made him worthless except as an item of merchandise. But, in Virginia, Georgia, and the South, he could work in the fields where the temperature and the climate was mild.

They bought and sold us all they could get. This went on until about 1847, I believe, until finally it was outlawed, England being the last nation to outlaw slavery.

Now, I ask you from an ethical standpoint and a moral standpoint, who is to blame? The man who captured the negro, who brought him here, who enslaved him, and who sold him, or the man who purchased him and worked him and provided and took care of him?

So when we begin to criticize and find fault, let's be sure we know what is and what is not right, and who is, and who is not, responsible.

The Civil War laid the foundations for our problem today, too, just as the landing on Jamestown did. The North was victorious, the negro was freed. The Thirteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments, which freed the negro and which granted him universal suffrage, didn't disturb a single human being in the South—nobody paid any attention to it. They passed, and the Southern states passed them. But, when the Fourteenth Amendment came, the one which is bothering us today, it was loaded with dynamite. Men met all over the South, just like we are meeting tonight, men and women, and they asked themselves the same questions we are asking ourselves, "What shall we do?" They had asked themselves that question before, and they said, "Before we will submit to this tyranny, before we will permit them to take our property which they sold to us (and they made no effort to reimburse the Southerners), we will divorce and separate, we will secede and form a country of our own."

There was only one state that voted in the South for the Fourteenth Amendment, for its passage, and that was Tennessee. Tennessee was pretty much under the heel of a Republican and always had a Republican element in it anyhow, but the Amendment was rejected. It was fairly submitted, a three-fourths majority being required, and it was rejected, and that should have ended the matter, but it didn't. An infuriated Republican Congress immediately enacted these

various statutes which put us under military rule. Mississippi was under military rule for almost four years. Then the Carpetbaggers and the troops came down and they took care of it; the white men were not permitted to vote. The Scalawags in the South (there are always Scalawags), the Carpetbaggers, the Northern troops, and the negroes voted in the Fourteenth Amendment. It was illegally done, and therefore, the Fourteenth Amendment has never had any moral effect in the South because our fathers knew it was illegal, and their fathers knew it. We know it.

General Coleman has told me recently, and I have grounds to believe that he is correct about it, that he is trying to make a diligent search to prove that even under the coercion and that military government, when the people of the South were disfranchised, Congress lacked the sufficient number of votes, and fraud was perpetrated, and the Congressional Reports and the records will show it. Actually there was not a sufficient number of votes to have made that amendment valid.

I am not naive enough to think that today, as this country now exists, that the Fourteenth Amendment will be abolished. There may be a day when that Amendment can be abolished or amended, or ratified in some way so that states, sovereign states composed of people who have made that state, and whose fathers and mothers made that state, will not be forced, as you are forced tonight, to come here, to look in one another's faces and ask yourself that awful question, "What shall we do? What can we do?"

Immediately after the enactment of that 14th Amendment, you know what happened. The Force Bills of 1870, the Anti Ku Klux Klan Act, the Anti-Segregation Act of 1875—these things are not new. History is again repeating itself, ladies and gentlemen. The only difference in us now and our revered grandparents is that we will not secede; we have throughout this country something that is fine and grand, and that is the realization that "I am an American. And, as an American, I will work my problems out."

It was rough, and the heel of the conqueror was placed on the neck of the vanquished, on those who came back, and it was just as thorough and devastating as Sherman's March to the Sea. In spite of every obstacle in the world, the genius, the courage, the intelligence and the character of the white people of the South has saved itself. And we have gone along since 1875 in peace and harmony.

There was a case, however, decided—the Cruikshank Case—which is of utmost importance, and every Southerner should know about that case. A man by the name of Cruikshank, and others, broke up a political meeting held in Louisiana by a group of negroes. Shortly after the Reconstruction Period, the Carpetbag era, Cruikshank, and others, were indicted in the Federal Court and convicted, and the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. That Supreme Court held, in the Cruikshank case, in 1876 (I'll tell you this now because in my opinion the next move of this United States Supreme Court is going to be to set aside the rule of law established in the Cruikshank Case in 1876—this applies to you people here tonight, it applies to me, it applies to any individual, or any group of individuals within any state in this union), *that Congress of itself, by the enactment of this law (Ku Klux Act of 1871, the Civil Rights Act of 1875—and it was under the Enforcement Act of 1870 that Cruikshank was indicted, tried and convicted) derived no power from the 14th Amendment to legislate in respect to the acts of individual persons; that the restriction of the 14th Amendment ran only against the action by the states.*

That decision in the Cruikshank Case saved the South, and it saved this nation, because it permitted the states of this Union to adjudicate the rights of its own respective citizens, and denied the Federal Government the right to come in, as is done in Russia, and was done in Fascist Italy, in Nazi Germany and these other states, to come in and regulate and control the lives of the citizens of the respective states. That Supreme Court realized that the states of this union produced the union for the benefit of the states, and the union was not created by the states for its own welfare. And so I say to you tonight, whether you know it or not, every man and woman in this room who is opposed to this decision of May 17, and the interference of the Federal Government into the sacred rights of a state to educate its children, is a States' Rights man.

You are holding that it is within the province, and particularly and solely within the province of the state, to regulate the life and condition of its citizens. The education of its youth is the most sacred and the most solemn responsibility which a state can have. And, any interference with it by any power whatsoever is death to the sacred principle of States' Rights.

We talk of segregation today, but let's not forget that during Truman's administration there were four issues, Anti-Poll Tax, Anti-Lynch, the Anti-Segregation issue, and the FEPC.

We are facing today just one of those issues—the other three are just in the offing. They will come unless the people of these United States realize that this thing is not a haphazard plan, that it has been in the process of being made and created for 40 or 50 years, just as the Fabian Socialists in England started, and 32 years later, converted a great nation into a second rate power. So these forces are operating today in the United States. We lived in complete harmony for a period of 80 years after the Cruikshank case. Of course, other cases came: Plessey vs. Ferguson, the Virginia Case. In that case, a negress was denied the right to ride in equal but segregated area. That Supreme Court held that that also is within the province of the State. The State has a right to regulate the actions and the conduct of its individuals. If the people of that State want that, there is nothing unconstitutional about it, and that was the case; that was the camel that the Supreme Court had to swallow when it handed down the decision on May 17.

Repeatedly, after that they have held, and in the Gong Lum Case just a short period ago, when there were men on the Supreme Court like Van Devanter, Brandeis, Justices Stone, Butler, Holmes, Taft and the others, they held that the rule was the same, the rule laid down in Plessey vs. Ferguson to be a good rule.

It's true that the state owes all of its citizens a solemn duty. That same rule was laid down in the Cruikshank Case. The very highest duty of the states, when they entered into the union under the Constitution, was to protect all persons within their boundaries in the enjoyment of these inalienable rights. And the Supreme Court held in the Plessey Case that just as long as that train had the same sort of seats, the same sort of accommodations, ran over the same rails, was a part of the same train pulled by the same engine, had the same sort of lights and drinking water, as long as the accommodations were equal, that the rule of being separate did not deny anybody equal protection under our law. There was no discrimination!

What has happened? What is it in this interim of time, a period of about 60 years, that the Supreme Court has divorced itself from Plessey vs. Ferguson. How in just twenty-seven years, has reversed itself in the Gong Lum case?

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What caused it? If we can find out why this happened and what caused it, we may be able then to prevent future inroads into the States' Rights principle, the principle upon which our government was founded by the 13 separate sovereign states.

I can tell you some of the things. In 1936, there was a large migration of the negroes north. They went to cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, New York, Akron, Philadelphia and Chicago; the far westward trek had not started, and there in these northern states, by simply becoming 21 years of age, they obtained the ballot. There was organized in 1936 in New York City, an organization known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We know now from whence this association has derived a lot of its power. We know now who poured the money into its coffers; we know now who has abetted and encouraged the association. I have but to read you the names of the 87 organizations listed by the FBI and the Committee on Un-American Activities to give you the name of these Communist-front organizations. It is from their ranks that this help has come. I wouldn't make such a statement if I were not sure of it.

We know there has been a working together on it. We know also that the CIO and the Communist-front labor organizations have likewise cooperated with it, and we know that the CIO, Sidney Hillman Group, gave to this association \$75,000.00 to have them fight these four cases from Kansas, Delaware, Virginia and South Carolina.

In 1936 this thing started. Walter White himself says, "for 50 years we have been working in this direction." How long have we been working in our direction? Not 50 days. Fifty years ago they set their goals and their sights, some of which we don't even know today, but we believe today that one of those goals and sights is integration of the white and negro race in the South. We know that.

In 1936 the negroes had always voted Republican, but there was a quick shift, a quick change, and labor and the NAACP switched to the Democratic party and they elected Roosevelt, and they kept Roosevelt there. His brain trusters, all of his group, planned that which has come to be. In was in his regime that he told Governor Johnson down at Hattiesburg, at Camp Shelby, "I am coming back after this war is over, and we are going to take the book down from the shelves, Paul, and finish writing that

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chapter." And Governor Johnson asked him, "What book?" and he said, "The negroes' book."

People don't do something for politicians and not expect something in return, as a rule. And, what they wanted, what they demanded, and what they got was the Civil Rights bills and the propaganda brought forth in Roosevelt's administration and re-enacted during Truman's. We know the fight that the Mississippians and these other Southern men made opposing the Anti-Poll Tax, Anti-Segregation, Anti-Lynching and the FEPC.

If that FEPC had been enacted and enlarged today, the South would not have any economic weapon whatsoever with which to defend itself. If the Anti-Segregation Bill had been passed, we would be approximately where we are now, and I think perhaps we would be better off, because at any rate we would have an Act of Congress and not an act of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court would not have usurped the powers of Congress. It would not have usurped the seats of our Representatives and our Senators here, which it has done.

Briefly, and roughly, that is the picture. In passing I should say this, that this assault that is being made on the American mind is terrific. We know that the Communist organizations, and we know that Russia itself dreamed at one time of setting up a "Black Empire," of disfranchising the white man. And, we know that they worked along these lines for a long time, until finally they were told to quit, and they quit either because of the economic superiority of the white man, or the loyalty of the negro, or a combination of both.

What is the next best thing they could get? An integration of these races. To let us have in the South what has happened in these other countries—in Spain, in Egypt, India and everywhere. I am not a great anthropologist, but we know the physical differences exist just as Abraham Lincoln said, "I do not believe, and never will believe, that the white and the black races should intermarry; there are physical differences which forbid it, and it is not in God's plan that they should do it." And Abraham Lincoln did more for the negro, for his freedom and advancement here than any human being who has ever lived, but you needn't tell the Supreme Court that.

Any lawyer, you can ask any able lawyer, and he will tell you that there is no precedent whatsoever for that decision of May 17. It's as erroneous as the 14th Amendment was illegal; we know that. It's based on sociology and psy-

chology, on the social sciences and not on the principle of *stare decisis*, not on the decisions and the laws of this country.

We have a sociological Supreme Court. In lieu of laws we are now going to have theories, sociological and psychological concepts to guide us. That is next to having a rule by men, and whenever any country sets aside government by law and adopts government by men, that government dies. History will teach us, and has taught us, that this is a certain way to destruction.

Well, we come to the question: What are we going to do? I have spoken and taken a stand on it, and wrote "Black Monday." If we don't use our heads, if we get frantic and excited, this could be our Gettysburg also.

I am so glad that the true South has gone slowly, judiciously and calmly. I regret to see that our sister state, Maryland, is in the toils of this ordeal, and I regret to see that they are becoming somewhat violent and excited. They are turning desperately any way for relief. They will lose, because their Governor doesn't believe there is anything morally wrong with the abolition of segregation, and in my opinion, if necessary, he will use force to put a stop to it. That will happen also in other states where the people are divided, where they have conflicting, divergent thoughts, beliefs, desires and dreams; where they are not united and sure in their cause, and where they have in their cause any element that would make them at any time ashamed; where they could not at all times speak out and say: "This is where I stand, and I shall not change from it, and this stand which I have taken is a just and righteous stand, and it is within the confines of the Federal Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Mississippi, and its statutes." When we take a stand thus, we won't have to apologize or be afraid or frantic. We can ride out any storm.

I think that we should have (and I use these words for lack of better) a National Federation of Sovereign States. I think the people of Mississippi should do what you are doing tonight, as your Council has done in 36 counties. And, I would like to say this with reference to the Council: There was a farmer one time and he had six sons; he gave each a stick; he bound the sticks together; he handed that bundle to all the sons and none could break it. But when he took those sticks apart, they snapped those sticks over their knees with ease. If we are not bound together today in Mississippi, they will snap us over their knees. It is very easy to pass judg-

ment upon a man or upon a movement. It's easy to condemn. None of you men look like Ku Kluxers to me. I wouldn't join a Ku Klux—I didn't join it—because they hid their faces; because they did things that you and I wouldn't approve of. I am not going to find fault with a man who did. Every man looks at the proposition not in the same way. In this proposition there is one essential point on which we must be uniform: we must act within the bounds of our Constitution and not in violation of our laws. If and when this Federation of States is formed, call it what you will, when Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Virginia and South Carolina; when the men of those states get together and say, "We have the intelligence and the courage and the character to solve these problems if we will work together, if we keep this thing a legal, a lawful and a fine thing." We will have a powerful force for good which cannot be denied. The sovereign rights of these states will remain secure and inviolate. There can be no federation of states unless the states organize. Each state must organize; each state and each county thereof. If we do not organize, we are lost, because never before in the history of the South has there been a more direct order to organize than is now given to us. White Americans of the South, unite! And, so I say to you tonight, members of this Citizens' Council, when each citizen in every Council can solemnly and sincerely vow that he will uphold the Constitution of this State and its laws, and that he will at the same time pledge his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor that segregation shall not be destroyed in Mississippi, when they take those oaths and mean them, it will not be destroyed.

I tell you that in our religious and in our educational field we have men who are drugged with the lotus of Socialism. Some of them are outright Communists, and when they go into our schools and teach our boys Socialism, they are undermining this country. When they affiliate with the NAACP, or any other organization which tends to socialize, upset and destroy this country, they are helping Russia. Russia wants to put Jew against Gentile. She wants to put Protestant against Catholic. She wants to have the white and the black man fighting at each other. Everywhere she plays race against race—anything that will cause dissension, discord and trouble, that is what Russia wants.

You and I know that the NAACP has been sponsored and fostered by these left-wing Liberals (I will call them that), these Marxian Christians in our churches, and these Neo-Socialists, teachers and preachers in our schools. It is just that serious, and if the people of the South do not now make up their minds that this is a mortal combat, that it is to the bitter end; that he will sell his car, his radio, his television, his refrigerator; he will sell anything and give anything because he has the God-given right to keep his blood white and pure, the battle will soon be lost. If God in His infinite wisdom had wanted a Mongrelized, mixed man, that man would have been on this earth. He would not have been separated into the northwest quadrant, over in Asia and below the trackless Sahara; if God had wanted these races of men to be mixed, they would have been created mixed. No Socialist preacher can deny this.

I don't like statements when I hear that the Councils are going to pit Jew against Catholic. It might interest you to know that 4000 years before Christ,

the Jew was fighting for the preservation of his white blood. It might interest you to know (and I have no particular brief for the Jew, I merely state facts) that he was enslaved at the time the Egyptian was. The negro has no monopoly on slavery. The Jew was enslaved 4000 years, and the Egyptian also, before the negro knew what slavery was. And for 4000 years, in spite of his slavery and mistreatment, the Jewish race, above all, has kept its blood pure. And it was from the Jewish race that Jesus Christ came. I don't like to hear someone say that the Citizens' Councils are against Jews and Catholics, because to me the Citizens' Councils typifies the finest and the best intelligence, the best law-abiding group, the most courageous, the most honest. And unless we keep and pitch our battle on a high plane, and unless we keep our ranks free from the demagogue, the renegade, the lawless and the violent, we will be branded as we should be branded, a fearful, underground, lawless organization. I think a man should understand an organization; I think he should inspect its roster, should check its Constitution and its laws and find out the type of men who are in it, and the type of people who want to work with it and support it before we damn it.

No one knows what the outcome is going to be; no one knows who the next Supreme Court Judge is going to be. It could be Thurgood Marshall; it could be Attorney Brownell—we don't know, but it doesn't make any difference who the attorney general is, and it doesn't make any difference whether it is a negro or a white man. If the people of Mississippi will just do their duty, and you know what I mean. Though he only pays 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. of the school tax, still he is a human being. Where we have mistreated him, we should admit it. Where we can rectify that wrong that we have done him, we should do it. I realize, and you do too, that the NAACP and these Liberal left-wing groups are laughing with glee because they realize that we are going to be staggering under a terrific debt.

They realize that South Carolina spent \$175,000,000 and perfectly equalized their schools. The records in the case before the Supreme Court, the oral arguments as well as the briefs, substantiated that they are absolutely equal, and we realize that, yet that Supreme Court says, "You have got to sit a negro boy down by a white girl to have it equal."

Still, with that in our face, it is our duty to give to these negro boys and girls, in good conscience, what we can and what they are entitled to.

The thing is serious. I don't like to hear men say, "Oh, it can't happen. It's too much of a job. The burden is too great. We can teach them this, that and the other." You can't do it! You can't put little boys and little girls together—negroes and whites, and have them sing together, play together, dance together, and eat together out of the same pail, sit side by side, and walk arm in arm, and expect for the sensitivity of those white children not to be broken down. You can't do it. The old adage of "First we pity, then we pardon, then we embrace," applies. Why? Because that is exactly what has happened in the north.

Four per cent., we will say, in Kansas; 7 per cent., we will say, in New York; 8 per cent., we will say, in Illinois—that's nothing compared to what we have. They have a sufficient number of whites to absorb,

and perhaps assimilate, the negro; though you can't truly assimilate it—it's still there. It is there in Walter White's face, in his flat nose, his round head, his slightly kinky hair, his slightly thick lips and his colored skin.

Those are things we can see. We don't know what happens to the brain of man, but we do know that the negro's brain pan seals and hardens quicker than the white man's. We do know the negro has, in certain instances, elliptical blood cells, which cause disease. We do know that his skull is one-eighth inch thicker, and we do know he has to have two determiners to have his kinky black hair. We don't know what it takes to make his mind different from our mind.

This Supreme Court seeks to set aside all the laws of eugenics and biology! By simply putting these children together in schools we will abolish all these racial differences that God made. I have a little field back of my home, a very small one. I noticed the blackbirds come, and they stay together. Right in the City of Brookhaven I had a covey of quail. They finally fled because of new houses. I noticed they stayed together. They were all birds. I noticed the geese and the ducks, each after his own kind, and yet, that Supreme Court would set aside these basic laws of God and of nature and compel these various individuals to come together just as you would blackbirds and green heads, or partridges.

You can't change the chromosomes of an individual by a law. You can't create an additional gene to determine the texture and the quality of the skin hair. These things God does, and whenever man begins to tamper and to try to reform and revise (yes, and this goes for the atomic bomb, too), these laws, he destroys himself.

I have tried to speak calmly and unemotionally. I could have adopted a much different approach; I could have had you, I believe, cheering at odd moments; but this is not the time to cheer—this is the time, as you've said, to pray. This is the time to be as deliberate and cautious and careful and as right as we know how. I realize that a violent upheaval at this time would probably deter (though it might not) the Supreme Court in handing down its "when and how" decision. But that would only be a pyrrhic victory. We can't do it with force and arms—we have got to do it with right, and we have got to do it with intellect and justice.

And, just as this meeting opened with a prayer, I think it is proper that it should close with a prayer, and so I devoutly say, "God give us the wisdom to know what's right, and the courage and strength to do it."

ADDITIONAL REPRINTS

50 for	\$3.00
100 for	5.00
250 for	10.00

Postpaid

ASSOCIATION OF
CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI
Winona, Miss.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Belmont
[Redacted]

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

March 7, 1955

Director, FBI

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS
(OF MISSISSIPPI)
INTERNAL SECURITY - X
FBI File 105-34237



Reference is made to your memorandum dated December 10, 1954, captioned "The Citizens Councils (Of Mississippi), Internal Security - X"; "The American States Rights Association, Internal Security - X" your references 146-1-2402 and 146-1-2404, WFT:RMR:aik, suggesting an investigation of these organizations for the Department's consideration pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Reference is also made to my memorandum dated December 17, 1954, in reply thereto advising that investigation was being initiated and the results would be forwarded to you upon receipt thereof.

There is enclosed herewith for your consideration under the provisions of Executive Order 10450 one copy of the report of Special Agent George A. Everett dated February 16, 1955, in the captioned matter. There is also being furnished you herewith one Photostat each of the six enclosures to this report listed on pages 58 and 59.

Enclosures (7)

2cc - Memphis (105-121)
New Orleans

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 3/14/77 WED/RJG

NOTE SAC, Memphis:

A review of the report of Special Agent Everett reflects that of the 25 counties in Mississippi in which there are citizens councils 13 of the counties are situated within the territory covered by the Memphis Office. You are instructed to maintain this case in a pending status and follow closely the activities of this organization. The status of the copies furnished the Bureau has been changed to pending inactive; your copies should be changed accordingly.

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

CFW:eje (9)

EX-125

COMM - FBI
MAR 7 - 1955
MAILED 24

105-34237-7

MAR 10 1955

Handwritten initials and signatures: CFW, FWT, etc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 9, 1955

SAC, New Orleans

Director, FBI (10)

THE CITIZENS COUNCILS (OF MISSISSIPPI)
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Rerep of Special Agent Laurence J. Frank, Jr.,
dated February 18, 1955.

The status of the copies of the referenced
report furnished the Bureau has been changed to pending
inactive. Your copies should be changed accordingly.

Inasmuch as investigation is being conducted
at the specific request of the Department, it is desired
that your investigation be continued.

CFW:jdd
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/21 BY 60347 NLS/KP/ky

918421

RECORDED - 87

105-34257-8

EX-107

24 MAR 10 1955

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

356 98
66 MAR 14 1955

COMM - FBI
MAR 9 - 1955
MAILED 24

Handwritten initials and scribbles in the bottom right corner.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

WO:MWH:vm

144-2-130

SUBJECT: WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*WDR
3/3/55*

EXP

White Citizens Council of Mississippi

We are enclosing herewith three photostats of a news article appearing in the issue of the LOS ANGELES TRIBUNE of January 28, 1955, regarding the above organization. It will be noted that according to the news article certain Negro citizens of Mississippi transmitted affidavits to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People regarding economic pressure brought against them by the above organization. According to the news article, Walter E. Strider and S. O'Neal, agents and employees of FHA (probably Farmers Home Administration), are collaborating in the manner specified with the economic pressure movement of the White Citizens Council.

We are forwarding the news article to you so that the allegations set forth therein can be included in the investigation of this organization which we understand is being presently conducted under provisions of Executive Order 10450. The news article indicates that the affidavits referred to may be in the possession of Roy Wilkins, an official of the NAACP of New York City. We would suggest that copies of these affidavits be obtained if possible and that an appropriate inquiry be made relative to the contents thereof.

EXP. PROC.
MAR 8 1955

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/29/01 BY 60247NLS
#91842) EP/KS

SE 44

RECORDED - 116

INDEXED - 116

6 MAR 10 1955

115-34237-9

ENCL

Enclosure No. 82584

*1 photostats each
of news article
to NY, no Memphis.
1 cc memo Ab to NY +
1 photostat each
sent letter to
NY + Memphis
3-14-55
CRW*

BAUMGARDNER
INT
Conrad

Eisenhower told FHA collaborating with Dixiecrats to freeze Negroes economically

NEW YORK — Affidavits from Mississippi Naacp leaders, accusing representatives of federal financing agencies of discrimination in collaboration with the economic pressure movement of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi, have been submitted to the White House with an urgent request for "prompt action."

Walter E. Strider and S. O'Neal, agents of the FHA in Lexington, Miss., are named as denying Negroes assistance.

"These affidavits," Roy Wilkins, Naacp administrator, informed the White House, "seem to indicate that agencies of the federal government itself are arbitrarily denying relief which they are empowered to give and which in other years they have given."

AIDS NAACP MEMBERSHIP DRIVE, DENIED LOAN

"Because of my activities in bringing in about 25 members in the Naacp branch," one farmer asserts in his affidavit, "economic pressure is being exerted on me." Owner of 73 acres of "rich Mississippi delta soil" with a 7-room house, a barn and a tractor, this Negro farmer says that although his tract produces as much as a bale-and-a-half of cotton per acre, he is unable to get loans for operations.

Because of drought and the demand for immediate payment of a \$3,500 mortgage, he is in danger of losing his place. "Any one belonging to the Naacp," he affirms, is not deemed "worthy of finan-

cial assistance and is termed a troublemaker in the community."
O'NEAL, STRIDER NAMED

Although "disaster loans are being made to individuals" in the drought area, another victim affirms that he has been unable to secure such a loan "because a Mr. S. O'Neal, of Lexington, Miss., (farm home manager) thought that I should not have it."

A woman farm owner in the same drought-stricken area also complains that O'Neal and Strider have denied her a disaster loan to operate her farm. "It is generally believed," she adds, "that Mr. Strider refuses some loans to Naacp members because of local activities".

Last year, a local Naacp leader swears, he secured without difficulty an operational loan from the FHA. "But this year, I have been unsuccessful in getting any consideration for a loan to operate my farm," he asserts, naming O'Neal as the one who rejected his application.

The owner of a 76-acre farm complained that:

"No loans will be extended to me for current operations which begin in mid-January. A Mr.

Walter E. Strider, supervisor for the FHA of Lexington, Miss., through which my property was purchased, will not make it possible for me to secure a loan for operations through the FHA. However, a white friend of mine was able to receive up to \$10,000 for equipment and operations through the FHA and Mr. Strider."

BRANCH PRESIDENT TURNED DOWN

The president of an Naacp branch, owner of a \$37,000 business in a Mississippi city affirms that he was warned by a member of the City Council and two police officers to post a sign over his place "For Colored Only" in an effort to drive away white trade.

"I was told," he declares "that their reason was to protect me from the 'poor whites' and to keep the mean white people from bombing my place. I refused their request. As a result, pressure was put on whites who stopped trading with me. My business is very young and I didn't have money for operation. I went to my local bank but was turned down. No reasons were given for not granting the application."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/22/01 BY 60267 WJK/SLK

4915421

ENCLOSURE

LOS ANGELES TRIBUNE
Friday, January 28, 1955
Page 4

45-44-39-4

cc: r. Belmont
cc: [redacted]

b6
b7c

[redacted]

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

March 15, 1955

Director, FBI
RECORDED - 116

105-34237-9

~~ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS~~
(OF MISSISSIPPI)
INTERNAL SECURITY - X
FBI File 105-34237

EX-103

Reference is made to your memorandum dated
March 3, 1955, captioned "White Citizens Council,"
your reference 144-2-130, WO:MWH:vmw.

An attempt is being made to obtain copies
of the affidavits referred to in your memorandum and
upon receipt thereof by the Bureau they will be
furnished to you promptly. Inquiries will be made
relative to the contents of these affidavits when
obtained. You will be furnished the results of
these inquiries promptly.

- 2 cc - New York (W/Enclosures - 2)
- 2 cc - New Orleans (W/Enclosures - 2)
- 2 cc - Memphis (W/Enclosures - 2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/29/01 BY 60267 NJS
91842-1 PR/LM

ATTENTION SACS NEW YORK, NEW ORLEANS AND MEMPHIS:

There is being furnished the New York, New Orleans
and Memphis Offices as an enclosure with this letter one
Photostat each of an article which appeared in the "Los Angeles
Tribune" of January 28, 1955. New York is being furnished a
copy of the Department memorandum and New Orleans and Memphis
are being furnished one Photostat each of the Department
memorandum.

The New York Office is instructed to make every
effort to obtain through sources and informants connected
with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People copies of the affidavits referred to in the memorandum
from the Department. Copies should be furnished the Bureau,
New Orleans and Memphis upon receipt.

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2.

CFW:prh:gmf
(11)

COMM - FBI
MAR 15 1955
MAILED 19

20 MAR 25 1955

Handwritten initials and notes: PR, LM, 50, etc.

The New Orleans Office is instructed to initiate inquiries concerning the ~~subject~~ referred to in the article appearing in the "Los Angeles Tribune" and promptly furnish the results of these inquiries in report form suitable for dissemination to the Department.

The New Orleans and Memphis Offices should discreetly attempt to obtain copies of the affidavits referred to in the memorandum from the Department and furnish same to the Bureau immediately.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Association of Citizens Councils (of Mississippi)
is the correct name for this organization.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *3-23-55*

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ABZ*

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X
BUFILE 105-34237

DATE: March 21, 1955

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

There is attached the file copy of a letter to the Atlanta Office, with copies to eleven other southern offices, advising that Citizens Councils have been established in the State of Mississippi and in the State of Alabama. All offices receiving copies of this letter are being advised to remain alert for the formation of Citizens Councils in their territory and to furnish the Bureau immediately any information received concerning these Councils. Citizens Councils in Mississippi and Alabama are attempting through legal means to maintain segregation in public schools and prevent Negroes from registering and voting. The Department suggested an investigation be conducted on the Citizens Councils of Mississippi. The original of this letter is on duplimat.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this letter be approved so that it may be duplimated and the offices designated be furnished copies.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/29/01 BY 60267NLS/EP/ky
918421

RECORDED - 25

- Attachment *sent 3-22-55*
CFW:bas *1652*
(5)
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
 - 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
 - 1 -

66 MAR 29 1955 *7269*

105-34237-10
ABZ
ad
ad
ad

SAC, Atlanta

March 22, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237)

3/22/55
91442
67878

CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

At the suggestion of the Department, the New Orleans and Memphis Offices are conducting an investigation of the "Association of Citizens Councils (of Mississippi)" for consideration by the Department pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The Mobile Office is also conducting an investigation on the Citizens Councils of Alabama.

The first Citizens Council was organized July 11, 1954, at Indianola, Mississippi, and as of February, 1955, councils were formed in twenty-five counties of Mississippi with a total membership of approximately 30,000. The Citizens Councils of Alabama pattern after the councils organized in Mississippi and were first formed in Selma, Alabama, in October, 1954.

The Citizens Councils disclaim affiliation with or similarity to the Ku Klux Klan. The stated objectives include discouraging Negroes from voting and maintaining segregation in public schools. These objectives are being carried out by economic pressure brought to bear on Negroes seeking to vote or who are in favor of integration in schools. The councils claim no violence will be used and only legal means employed.

RECORDED-96

COMM - FBI
MAR 23 1955
MAILED 26

All offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to be alert for the formation of Citizens Councils in the territory covered by your offices. Upon the receipt of such information you should advise the Bureau immediately by letter setting forth all pertinent data concerning the organization and the offices thereof. No investigation should be conducted without prior Bureau authority.

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

- 2 cc - Birmingham
- 2 cc - Charlotte
- 2 cc - Knoxville
- 2 cc - Little Rock
- 2 cc - Louisville
- 2 cc - Memphis

- 2 cc - Miami
- 2 cc - Mobile
- 2 cc - New Orleans
- 2 cc - Norfolk
- 2 cc - Savannah

cc-Bufile 105-33955

CFW:ph (28) ORIGINAL ON DUPLIMAT
See memo Belmont to Boardman dated March 21, 1955, re Citizens Councils, Internal Security - X. CFW:ph

CFW
W.C.T.

60 MAR 21 1955

UNRECORDED